Chronicon Ruſticùm-Commerciale;

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF

WOOL, &c.

Chronicon Rusticum-Commerciale;

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF

WOOL, &c.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Chronicon Ruſticum-Commerciale;

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF

WOOL, &c.

BEING

A COLLECTION of HISTORY and ARGUMENT, concerning the WOOLEN MANUFACTURE and WOOLEN TRADE in general; particularly, the *Riſe*, *Progreſs*, *Improvements*, *Declenſions*, *Revolutions*, and the reſpective *Cauſes* thereof (with a View of the different *Prices* of WOOL, at certain diſtant Periods) in *ENGLAND*; as given by a Succeſſion of Writers, from ancient down to the preſent Times.

ALSO

An Account of the *ſeveral* LAWS, from Time to Time made, and of many SCHEMES offered, for *preventing the* Exportation of raw WOOL; likewiſe of other Expedients for preſerving, and promoting the Intereſt of the Kingdom, in *that Commodity manufactured:* With occaſional *Notes*, *Diſſertations*, and *Reflections* upon the whole.

By *JOHN SMITH*, L. L. B.

In TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON:
Printed for T. OSBORNE at *Grays-Inn.*
MDCCXLVII.

Chronicon Rusticum-Commerciale;

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF

WOOL, &c.

BEING

A COLLECTION of HISTORY and ARGUMENT, concerning the WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES and Woollen TRADE in General; particularly, the Rife, Progrefs, Improvements, Declenfion, Revolutions, and the refpective Caufes thereof: With a View of the different Prices of Wool, (at certain diftant Periods) in ENGLAND; as given by a Succeffion of Writers, from ancient down to the prefent Times.

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TO THE

KING.

SIR,



OUR MAJESTY, as the common Guardian of your People, is naturally the Patron, and most graciously disposed to be so, of all Attempts for their common Good.

YOUR Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, all Land-holders and their Dependants; the Manufacturers and Merchants of this Realm, receive a Benefit from WOOL, the chief Subject of the enſuing Pages. Whence, tho' it may ſeem ſtrange, that, after a long Age of much Inquiry and Diſcernment, there ſhould be wanting any proper material Diſcloſure, touching this great Staple Commodity; yet ſo it is, that while the People of *Great Britain* are not without ſufficient Light in every other Part of their Concerns; in this they have but obſcure, imperfect, and ſome very falſe Ideas.

THE Perplexity and Errors hereby occaſioned, have been ſuch, as to induce them, at Times, to complain heavily, and call loudly for Redreſs, in the wrong Place. They had even gone ſo far, as to rob YOUR MAJESTY, for a Seaſon, of one of the Glories and

and Felicities of Your Auguſt Reign; by miſrepreſenting Trade in general, as then moſt decayed, when, there is Reaſon to think, it flouriſhed moſt: and the *Woolen Exports* in particular, as ſunk to the loweſt Ebb, when, certainly, they roſe higher than at any foregoing Period whatſoever.

To diſpel a Cloud of Falſe Hiſtory; to undeceive the People in this Caſe; and to do Juſtice on this Head to Your Majeſty's *Annals*, is the firſt Intention of *theſe Memoirs*; which, beſides what is gathered from the Receſſes of various Voluminous Works, comprise alſo many leſſer Tracts wrote purpoſely, or principally upon the Subject; ſeveral of them, in regard to the Importance of it, and its near Connection with the Intereſts of the *State*, heretofore dedicated to one or other of Your Royal Predeceſſors, from *Queen Elizabeth*, downwards.

THESE

DEDICATION.

THESE laſt, however uſeful, yet, as ſmall Bodies, were in a manner loſt; but are ſince recovered, and here reſtored to the *Public*, under one View. And this *Collection*, from the ſame Conſideration which moved originally ſome of their reſpective *Authors*, I moſt humbly beg Leave to lay at Your Majeſty's Feet.

I am,

May it pleaſe Your MAJESTY,

Your MAJESTY'S

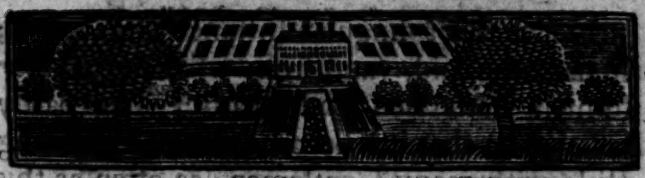
Moſt Devoted,

Obedient Subject,

AND

Servant,

JOHN SMITH.



THE PREFACE.

THE *Public* is here preſented with a Work, of which the *Deſign* is wholly new, upon the ſame Subject.

The *Title Page* ſays briefly what it is; and the *Table of Contents* gives further Light into it. Yet *Cuſtom* demands a *Preface*; and there may be *Reaſon* alſo for adding ſomewhat under that Form, to tempt, if poſſible, the ſhy Reader to beſtow a few Weeks of his Time in a Way, to which it has been known that a very few Hours * have been denied.

a Nor

* Upon a particular Occaſion, a certain Perſon more than ordinarily concerned, and not uncommonly employed, gave it as a Reaſon for not reading a *Tract* upon this Subject, 'that it would have coſt him *two* or *three* 'Hours.'

Nor is this a ſingular Inſtance of Neglect; It has been ſaid, (and from what the *Author* himſelf hath ſeen and heard †, he partly believes it) that it is become almoſt a ſtanding Rule with many Gentlemen, as often as this Subject is ſtarted for their Deliberation, to take up their Hats and move off.

And it is not indeed a *Party Subject*, making any thing particularly againſt, or even for a *Miniſter*. It is not a Subject, of *Literature*, or Entertainment. It is by no means palatable to the *Men of Taſte*; nor yet greatly reliſhed by thoſe of *Buſineſs*.

Nevertheleſs, it is important; and generally intereſting; and univerſally acknowledged to be ſo. And though it were not altogether of ſo much Importance as it really is; yet, as *every Subject* that is of any Conſideration, does claim from ſome or other, (and eſpecially of thoſe who are concerned with it) at leaſt ſo much Attention as is neceſſary to a right underſtanding of it; and, for that End, does require to be inveſted properly: So, by what Means it comes to paſs, that *this*, which is confeſſedly of a very great and extenſive Concern, and which has been accordingly often brought upon the *Tapis*, ſhould be ſo little the Object of *cloſe* Con-

† A Gentleman going into ——— met ſeveral coming out; and asking one of them, what was doing within? he anſwered, 'ſomething about WOOL;' to whom the Gentleman gravely replied, 'and DO YOU 'run away from it?' (See *Ch.* 143. N°. 6. §. 1.)

Conſultation and *due Enquiry*, is ſomewhat myſterious; and, I think, not to be accounted for, but in the following Manner.

The *good People of England* either think, 1. That Things, in this reſpect, are as well as they can, or need to be. Or, 2. Leaning ſeverally to their own Opinions, (however various, and taken up by Chance rather than Choice; more upon Truſt than Examination) they believe they have an intuitive Knowledge of it; and that it requires no Search or Pains to be fully informed concerning the ſame. Or, 3. That it is a Matter beyond the Reach of the moſt diligent and inquiſitive, who are not bred to *Trade* and *Manufacture*. Or, 4. That it is ſo much the proper Buſineſs, and peculiar Province of thoſe who are, that no other Perſons need give themſelves the leaſt Care or Thought about it.——That the *Landed Intereſt* particularly, in regard thereof, is ſo far embarked upon the ſame Bottom with the *Trading*, that the Steerage may be ſafely left to the latter alone.

And though the moſt general Opinions are to be found under the one or the other of theſe Heads; and though theſe are, ſome of them, very contrary to each other, yet are they all wide of the Truth; for, 1. This Buſineſs is neither in a State of Perfection, nor yet incapable of Amendment. 2. A right Underſtanding thereof does not lie ſo near the Surface, as to

preſent itſelf, at the firſt Glance, to every Eye. 3. Nor is it a Matter inſcrutable, but, like other Knowledge, may be attained, with due Application and Attention, as well by Perſons not bred to *Trade* and *Manufacture*, as by thoſe that are. As to the 4th Opinion (which is the moſt plauſible, and therefore the moſt general) *That it is their peculiar Province, and may be ſafely truſted with thoſe, whoſe immediate Profeſſion is, Trade and Manufacture*; it is thought beſt, (becauſe leaſt exceptionable, and carrying moſt Conviction along with it) to reply in the Words of ſome Perſons, no leſs eminent as *Traders* themſelves, than as *Writers upon Trade*; and firſt, of Sir JOSIAH CHILD.

'*Merchants* (ſays he) while they are in 'the buſy and eager Proſecution of their 'particular Trades, although they be very 'wiſe and good Men, are not always the 'beſt Judges of Trade, *as it relates to the 'Power and Profit of a Kingdom.* The Rea'ſon may be, becauſe their Eyes are ſo con'tinually fixed upon what makes for their '*peculiar Gain or Loſs*, that they have no 'Leiſure to expatiate, or turn their Thoughts 'to what is *moſt advantageous to the Kingdom 'in general.* Of this I could give pregnant 'Inſtances, in the Age we live in, and for'mer Councils of Trade, ſince the *Reſtora'tion.*

'The like may be ſaid of all *Shop-keepers*, '*Artificers*, *Clothiers*, and other *Manufa'cturers*, until they have left off their *Trades*; 'and

'and being rich, by the Purchaſe of *Lands*, 'become of the *ſame common Intereſt* with 'moſt of their Countrymen.'

2. JOHN CARY, *Eſq*; *Merchant of* Briſtol.

'The Repreſentations made by private '*Merchants*, (who generally differ, as their 'Intereſts claſh with each other) tend rather 'to diſtract, than to inform the Govern-'ment.'

3. Mr. JOSHUA GEE, *Merchant.*

'Tis true indeed, that a conſiderable 'Number of *Merchants* is always choſe into 'the *Houſe*; but then it has been obſerved, 'that by the mutual Oppoſition of thoſe who 'are engaged in different Intereſts, they ra-'ther puzzle than give Light to the Argu-'ment in Debate. And I muſt confeſs, I 'have uſually found *Gentlemen* more ready 'to entertain right Notions of *Commerce*, as 'it reſpects the Advantage or Diſadvantage 'of the Public, than moſt *Men in Trade*; 'few of whom, though otherwiſe well 'ſkilled in their own Way, give themſelves 'the Trouble to look further than what 'concerns *their own particular Intereſt*.'

4. THE BRITISH MERCHANT *ſays*,

'The *Merchant* may have a *diſtinct* In-'tereſt from that of his *Country*. He may 'thrive by a Trade which ſhall prove her 'Ruin.'

5. *To these may be added, what* Dr. DAVENANT *has said, although no* Merchant, *but a Person of Ingenuity, Experience, and Observation.*

'There is hardly a Society of *Merchants* 'that would not have it thought, the whole 'Prosperity of the Kingdom depends upon 'their *single Traffic*: So that at any Time, 'when they come to be consulted, their An-'swers are dark and partial; and when they 'deliberate themselves, 'tis generally with a 'Bias, and a secret Eye to *their own Ad-'vantage.*

Hence it follows, that this Subject is more properly the *Gentlemens* Care and Study; not only because their Stake is considerable in their Country, and they have Leisure for Speculation——But because *they* are, of all others, the most nearly interested in this Particular. The WOOL of the Kingdom is, in Effect, *their Property*, making a large Part of the *Landed Estates*. And most *Gentlemen*, how indifferent soever, otherwise, to *Politics* in a general Sense, or however thoughtless about what, of a public Nature, seems to them of a more remote and doubtful Consideration, have yet an Eye to that which so certainly and immediately affects them, as do their *Rents*. Being willing to have the *Use* and *Enjoyment* of *their own Estates*, to *themselves*, THEY are desirous, so far as may be, to have also the *Tuition* of them, *in their*

own

own proper Perſons. And where that, by the Law, is veſted in others, for *them*, THEY hope from *ſuch Truſtees*, an equal Regard to *their Property* and *Intereſt*, as if it was their own Concern alone. This is expected on the one Hand, and is underſtood to be promiſed on the other. And to theſe Ends, *i. e.* in order to form a right Judgment, and to purſue juſt *Meaſures* in this Caſe, both the *Gentleman* in a private Station, and he that has undertook a public one, may be at leaſt as well qualified, as any other Perſons in the Kingdom, provided they will bend their Minds thereto, by acquiring a due Knowledge of certain *Facts*; that being what *they* chiefly want, to acquit themſelves perfectly about it.

The GENTLEMEN of GREAT BRITAIN are Maſters of *Argument*; and the *Maxims* of *Trade* and *Policy* are at this Time, almoſt generally pretty well underſtood by them. — But, with regard to *Facts*, it muſt be ſaid, there is almoſt a general Ignorance on *this Subject*; there being ſcarce a ſingle Point of Conſequence, hiſtorically true, as now, or for ſome Years paſt, commonly urged about it, either in Converſation or Writing.

This will appear ſufficiently in the following Collection.

If the *Work* ſhall ſeem tedious, it muſt be confeſſed that a more ſuccinct Account might have been given of ſeveral Matters therein contained — But then it would have wanted Authority ſufficient for removing thoſe Pre-

judices, which through a long Courſe of *falſe Hiſtory*, in one regard or another, has taken deep Root in the Minds of the People. And as it would have been unreaſonable to have expected that implicit Credit, without Evidence, which this Work denies to many others, on the like Score: So it was judged better to be prolix, than to omit any Thing in the leaſt Material; and ſtill better, than to *leave any Fact of Moment doubtful.*

From the Nature of *which*, many of them, it was neceſſary to be the more large and circumſtantial, in ſeveral Quotations or Tranſcripts, in regard they are not *ſimple*, but *complicated Facts*, viz. 1. *Opinions* and *Arguments*; or, if it is allowable to uſe the Word on this Occaſion, *Doctrines* or *Theories*. 2. *Policies* or *Meaſures* taken in Conſequence thereof. 3. The Reſult or Conſequence of *thoſe Meaſures*. And theſe being contained partly in *ſmall Tracts*, long ſince, out of Print; the Purport of them did not admit of being ſo briefly ſummed up, with Reference made to the *Tracts* themſelves, as if they had been *more acceſſible Authors*; but in order to a competent Pourtrait, they required to be exhibited in their original Dreſs; and though not at full Length, yet in ſome due Proportion.

It was further neceſſary, for the aſcertaining and pointing out to Obſervation, ſeveral of *theſe Facts*, to make large Additions, occaſionally, by way of *Note*, *&c.*; which has contributed to ſwell this Work to what it is,

the Quantity of *Four Volumes*, altho' in the Compaſs of *Two*.

The *Materials* which compoſe the *Text* of *theſe Memoirs*, are, Books of *Records* and *Antiquity*, the *Statute Books*, (*Engliſh*, *Scotiſh*, and *Iriſh*) *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, *State Papers*, *Debates*, and *Votes* in Parliament; *Hiſtory*, ancient and modern; *Dictionaries*, *Atlaſſes*: All the beſt Books of *Trade*, general, and particular; *Foreign* as well as *Engliſh*. Among the *foreign* are, *v. g. The Hiſtory of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*: By Mr. HUET, Biſhop of *Auranches*. His *Memoirs of the* DUTCH TRADE: *De Witt*'s Maxims of HOLLAND: Mr. *Savary*'s DICTIONAIRE UNIVERSEL DU COMMERCE: The *Traite le Negoce d'Amſterdam*; by Sieur JEAN PIERE RICARDS: *The Trade of* Marſellles; by GASPAR CARVEUIL. And, if not *all* the leſſer *Tracts*, of *Engliſh Authors*, which have been occaſionally wrote with an Eye to the *Engliſh Woolen Trade*; yet many, and thoſe the *beſt* that have been wrote upon *every extraordinary Incident* relating thereto, have been conſulted, and, more or leſs, tranſcribed into *this Work*.

It contains then, for Inſtance, all the *ſtrong Pleadings* or *Appeals to the Public*, which have been made, at different Times, on one Side of the Queſtion, or on the other, 1. In regard to a *free* and *open* Trade, or to *Trade* limited to *Companies*. 2. To the prohibiting or permitting of *Iriſh Cattle*. 3. To the

the Expediency of an *abſolute Prohibition*, or, inſtead thereof, a *Duty on Wool exported*, (a Queſtion agitated in the Reign of *Car.* II.) 4. In regard to *Eaſt India* Silks, and Calicoes. 5. To *Iriſh* Manufacture, Woolen and Linen. 6. To the *French Trade*. 7. To the Uſe and Wear of *Calicoes* painted and printed in *England*; with all the *Laws* relative to each of theſe particularly, and to the *Woolen Trade* in general; and a Number of *Schemes* for *preventing the Exportation of Wool* from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. To which are added many *Cuſtom-Houſe Accounts*, of Imports and Exports: Alſo Accounts of the *Price of Wool*, at different Times, and in different Places, in *England* and elſewhere. The whole diſpoſed into a regular Hiſtory, as the Subject would bear.

Among the *Engliſh Writers* made uſe of in this Work, may be mentioned more particularly, as a principal one, *The Britiſh Merchant*; of which it is ſaid by the Editor, Mr. *King*, that 'it contains many valuable Papers, and *ſo much Knowledge in Trade*, as 'would never have appeared in the World, 'had it not been upon a particular Occaſion '(*a pernicious Treaty of Commerce with* 'FRANCE) extorted from ſome worthy Perſons (*eminent Merchants of* LONDON) the 'Authors.'

Yet is *The Britiſh Merchant* but *Three* Volumes, of more than *Two hundred*, larger and leſſer, which have been collated towards the forming

forming of these *Memoirs of Wool*, &c.; and the greater Part of which *The British Merchant* does not appear to have been at all acquainted with.

The BRITISH MERCHANT is, it's true, incomparably the best of all our *English Writers* in this Way; contradicting most materially the Bulk of those his Countrymen, who had gone before him upon that Subject —But, for that Reason; and, because (as may be conceived) the *Title* of the Work does not point directly to the Business of WOOL; *therefore*, all succeeding Writers on that Head, have had as little regard to the *Facts* and *Sentiments* therein contained, as if no such Work had ever been published for the better Information of *this Kingdom*.

In short, a Spirit of *Romance* on the one Hand, and of *Credulity* on the other, had for a long time before, possess'd both the *English Writers* and *Readers* upon the *Woolen Trade*. And, as a Bone which has been too long out of its Place, is not to be reduced, but with uncommon Difficulty and Pain, after repeated Efforts; so the single Attempt of *The British Merchant*, for want of being properly followed up, has had in this Particular, it may be said, no Effect at all. For there is not so much as one Writer, that the *Author of these Memoirs* hath met with, since him, who (instead of correcting inveterate Errors by a Work of such good Authority, and

and by other Helps that were to be had, and as might have been expected in an Age of more Light and greater Accuracy in all other Matters) has not ignorantly or obstinately persisted in the old beaten Path of their other Predecessors; or rather exceeded them, by wandering still further from *Sobriety*, *Sense*, and *Truth*. Insomuch, that a Series of *Tracts* (from *one* particularly, intitled, *The Golden Fleece*, &c. (Ann. 1736-7) to *another*, or rather the *same in Substance*, under the Title of *The Danger of* Great Britain *and* Ireland *becoming Provinces to* France, *&c.*: By the same Author, *Ann.* 1746) are penned with so much Extravagance and Ignorance; containing such a Heap of *Falsehood* and *Chimera*'s, as are even a Disgrace to the *English Name*, justly renowned for masterly Productions in every other Part of useful Knowledge.

Not only *Pamphlets*, such has have been mentioned, but, which is far worse, *some Books of Price*, that would be thought to convey the most solid Intelligence, and which are very good Authorities in the Main, as to most other Matters, have erred egregiously in this. Among these are particularly, *The Atlas Maritimus Commercialis*, and *Chambers*'s *Dictionary*. Upon the latter lies the greatest Stress; because *that Work* has deservedly obtained a Place in most Libraries; and besides, to many private Persons, is, itself, in the Place of *a Library*; and however

however useful in other Regards, yet in respect of this Subject, it has only a Tendency to sooth the Nation in a Folly to which it has been long habituated, and to buoy up the People in Notions, false (and therefore unprofitable) which they have already too strongly imbibed.

In general, 'As[a] the Care of our *National* 'Commerce redounds more to the Riches and 'Prosperity of the *Public*, than any other 'Act of Government, [*on which Account*] it 'is a Pity that we do not see the State of it 'marked out in every particular Reign, with 'greater Distinction and Accuracy, than is 'usual among our *English Historians*.' So, that Defect, in regard to this greatest Branch of *English Commerce*, is, in some measure, here supplied; and perhaps, to a Degree, beyond what could well have been expected; considering how much, 'Those Authors[b] 'who have heretofore applied themselves to 'preserve the most considerable Events, have 'neglected *this Part of History*.' And considering also that the *Custom-House Books* (which are our most faithful Registers in this Case) are not searchable at Pleasure, like some other *Public Offices*.

[a] *Freeholder.* N° 41.

[b] Vol. 1. Pag. 7. *Note.* Ch. 3. §. 6.

Notwithstanding which, *some Custom-House Accounts* having occurred in one occasional *Tract* or another; and *others* having, at Times, and of late especially, been exhibited to *Parliament*, the Author of *these Memoirs* has been careful to collate all he could

so

ſo meet with; and tho' they are but few in Compariſon, yet the Light *theſe* do afford, is not inconſiderable.

The Publication of the *Bibliotheca Harleiana*, with the Sale of that Library, and of ſome other very large Collections of Books and Pamphlets, hath alſo furniſhed Helps for this Work, which, otherwiſe, ſo far from procuring, a Perſon could not have known, either *where* to have *ſought*, or *how* to have *aſk'd* for. And tho' ſome of the ſcattered Materials, ſo gleaned up, if viewed and conſidered apart from other Matters, and from one another, would not have been much to any Perſon's Edification; yet, *as* ſeveral Fragments of one and the ſame Body, when collected and rightly diſpoſed, do make ſomething of a ſignificant Figure, although not a compleat one; *ſo*, theſe, upon the ſame ſubject,

Juxtà ſe poſita magis inclareſcunt;

being placed, as they are, chiefly according to their reſpective Dates, *they borrow Light from what goes before*, and *help to render that which follows, perſpicuous*.

Upon the whole, if any *Gentlemen* ſhall (and ſome methinks there ſhould be found that will) think it worthy of their Time and Pains, to make themſelves Maſters of this Subject: In that Caſe, *they* have here, the Matter fully before them; at leaſt, they have a much larger Fund of Materials here, to exerciſe

erciſe their Judgments upon, than, in reference to the *ſame Things*, is to be met with in any other ſingle Work whatſoever.

It is upon the *Truth* of theſe ſeveral *Premiſes*, that the *Author* grounds the *Uſe* of the following Collection; wherein, as he is not conſcious of any partial Concealment or Secretion, ſo he is confident that he has not, in any regard, acted otherwiſe than as a *faithful Editor*.

And therefore, however Perſons may ſee Cauſe to diſſent from his *Concluſions* or *Comments*; the *Facts* upon which he has built, will not, he thinks, be diſputed. And tho' the Generality of his Countrymen ſhould not immediately fall into his Way of thinking altogether; yet he flatters himſelf that the careful Reader will ſoon entertain other Sentiments, on this Head, than what he had before; and that in the end, he will not ſo much differ from *him*, as from what, at his firſt ſetting out upon *theſe Memoirs*, was his own Opinion.

He concludes his Preface with this Hope at leaſt; that they who ſhall take theſe Volumes in hand, will be pleaſed to read the ſame throughout, before they paſs a final Judgment upon any Part thereof; and that no Prejudice will be entertained to the Work, on the Score of its being (as it is) ſo much out of the Way of his proper Buſineſs, the immediate Duties of his Profeſſion, as a *Clergyman*. Of this indeed he has the leſs Reaſon

to

to be apprehenſive, as ſome of the greateſt Perſonages of the *Church* have, in all Times, thought it no Diminution of their Character, to approve themſelves Friends to the *State*, by employing their Pens, tho' not on the ſame, yet on Subjects of a like ſecular Nature; and as ſome of thoſe who now adorn the higheſt Stations in it, have done him the Honour to appear in the ſmall Liſt of his *Subſcribers*. Nor can he fear that Men of true Learning will be wanting in the ſame Equity and Candour; ſince ſuch never fail of ſhewing all reaſonable Countenance and Favour to whatever has a Tendency to the Knowledge of Things, that are in themſelves uſeful, though of humble Fame.—But whatever Judgment may be paſſed upon the *Author*, or his *Book*, nothing can rob him of the pleaſing Conſciouſneſs, of ſincerely intending the Good of his Country, to the utmoſt of his Power. Satisfied, as he is, with himſelf, in that Particular; having ſecured this Point, *the Peace of his own Mind*; he is not greatly anxious for what *Others* ſhall ſay or think about the Matter.

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MEMOIRS
OF
WOOL, &c.

CHAP. I.

Extract from the Holy Scriptures: Of Sheep, Wool, *and* Woolen Manufactures.

1. *IN all Undertakings of History, 'tis usual to begin with a Summary of what is most ancient upon the Subject: Hence I am induced to set out with an Extract from the* Holy Scriptures, *which contain the first Notices we have, as of most other things, so concerning* Sheep, Wool, *and* Woolen Manufacture. *And this I do, not merely in compliance with Custom; but as some Proof of Inadvertency at least in certain modern Writers, who have laid it down as a Foundation to build upon,* * That our Wool for clothing, *viz.* the Wool of

* See *Draper of London* 1740. p. 7. who infers from hence, that 'if we be wise enough to manufacture our own

'of *England* and *Ireland*, is to ALL THE WORLD *as* 'much a NECESSARY *of Life, as any thing else.*' For *here the Scriptures inform us of* other Parts *of the World* abounding, at that Time, *in* Sheep *and* Wool. *And tho' some of those Countries have since undergone great Re-*
Zeph. ii. 6. *volutions, as to Empire and Arts; yet the Prophet foretelling the same, said of their Sea-Coasts, their populous trading Places, that they* should become Dwellings and Cottages for Shepherds, and Folds for Flocks.

Gen. iv. 2. 2. *Abel* was a Keeper of Sheep.

Abraham being well entreated in *Egypt*, had Sheep;
xii. 6. returning from thence, he was very rich in Cattle. *Lot*
xiii. 2. also who went with *Abraham* had Flocks, *&c.*

xx. 24. *Abimelech* took Sheep, *&c.* and gave them unto *Abraham.*

xxvi. 14. *Isaac* (in the Land of the *Philistines*) had Possession of Flocks, *&c.*

xxix. 2. *Jacob* coming to *Padan-aram*, to the Well of *Haran*, there were three Flocks of Sheep lying by it.

9. *Rachel* came with her Father's Sheep.

xxxii. 14. *Jacob* sent his Brother *Esau*, as a Present, two hundred Ewes and twenty Rams.

xxxvii. 14. *Joseph*'s Brethren went to feed their Father's Flock in *Shechem*. Being come into *Egypt*, and asked by *Pharaoh*, what was their Occupation, they said, thy Ser-
xlvii. 3. vants are Shepherds †, both we and our Fathers.

Moses

'at home, we MUST have the serving of *all the World* with 'it; *ibid.* p. 17. that we may have the Market to *ourselves*, 'at *our own Price.*'

By others also it has been said, 'that we may fix our 'Goods (*in that Case*) at what Rates we please, and dis-'pose of them at whatever Rates we think proper to fix 'them.' *Gee*'s *Impartial Enquiry* 1742. p. 49. And many Writers besides might be quoted, to the same Effect.

† But tho' the Patriarchs were yet in their original State of rural Simplicity, yet was it not so with every other Part of Mankind. 'At this Time, their Cargoes of *Spicery*, '*Balm* and *Myrrh*, carried upon Camels, and their Traffick 'in young Slaves, Commodities only for a rich and luxuri-'ous People, sufficiently declare the established Power and 'Wealth of *Egypt*. We find a Captain of *Pharaoh*'s 'Guard, a chief Butler and Baker. — In the Vestures, fine

'Linen,

Moſes kept the Flock of *Jethro* his Father-in-law in *Midian*. Exo. iii. 1.

The *Iſraelites* leaving the Land of *Egypt*, took with them Flocks and Herds, even very much Cattle. xii. 38.

Having ſpoiled the *Midianites*, a Part of the Booty which the Men of War had caught, was 675,000 Sheep. Numbers xxxi. 32.

Saul being ſent to deſtroy the *Amalekites*; contrary to God's Appointment, ſpared the beſt of the Sheep. 1 Sam. xv. 9.

David returned from *Saul* to feed his Father's Sheep at *Bethlehem*. xvii. 15.

The Sons of *Reuben* took from the *Hagarites* 250,000 Sheep. 1 Chron. v. 21.

The ſeveral Companies that came to *David* at *Ziklag* to make him King, brought with them Sheep abundantly. xii. 40.

Aſa King of *Judah* ſpoiling the *Ethiopians*, carried away Sheep in abundance. 2 Chron. xiv. 15.

Ahab in *Samaria* killed for *Jehoſhaphat* and his Company Sheep in abundance. xviii. 2.

And the *Arabians* brought him (*Jehoſhaphat*) Flocks, 7700 Rams. xvii. 11.

In the Days of *Hezekiah*, upon a particular Occaſion, were at one time of the conſecrated Things 3000 Sheep. xxix. 33.

Hezekiah King of *Judah*, at the Feaſt of the Paſſover, did give to the Congregation 7000 Sheep. And the Princes gave to the Congregation 10,000 Sheep. xxx. 24.

A Part of *Job*'s firſt Subſtance (in the Land of *Uz*) was 7000 Sheep; of his ſecond, 14,000. Job i. 3.

Meſha King of *Moab* was a Sheep-Maſter, and render'd unto the King of *Iſrael* 100,000 Lambs, and 100,000 Rams with the Wool.

3. *Laban* went to ſhear his Sheep. Geneſis xxxi. 19.

Judah went up to his Sheep-ſhearers. xxxviii. 12.

' Linen, gold Chains, State Chariots given to *Joſeph*, we ' ſee all the Marks of Luxury and Politeneſs.' *Divine Legation*, Vol. II. p. 31. Yet ' *Pharaoh* himſelf had his ' Shepherds; the *Egyptians* were at this Time Shepherds ' themſelves, as well as the *Iſraelites*.' *Connection of the ſacred and prophane Hiſtory*, by *S. Shuckford*, p. 342. Gen. xlvii. 6—17.

* *Conſequently of Silk and Woolen Manufacture, in that, or ſome neighbouring Country.*

1Sam.xxv. 4. And *David* heard in the Wilderneſs that *Nabal* did ſhear his Sheep.

2Sam.xiii. 23. *Abſalom* had Sheep-ſhearers in *Baalhazor*, which is beſide *Ephraim*; and *Abſalem* invited all the King's Sons.

Deut.xviii 1——4. And this ſhall be the Prieſt's Due, the firſt of the Fleece of thy Sheep ſhalt thou give him.

Ezek. xxvii. 18. The Prophet ſpeaking of the rich Trade of *Tyrus*, and its approaching Ruin, ſays, *Damaſcus* was thy Merchant in white Wool.

Rev. i. xiii. 14. One like unto the Son of Man, his Head and his Hairs white like *Wool*, as white as Snow.

Prov.xxxi. 13, 19. 4. The virtuous Woman ſeeketh Wool and Flax, and worketh willingly with her Hands. She layeth her Hands to the Spindle, and her Hands hold the Diſtaff.

Exod. xxxv. 26. And all the Women that were wiſe-hearted, did ſpin with their Hands, and brought that which they had ſpun, both of blue and of purple, and of ſcarlet, and of fine Linen.

1 Sam. xvii. 7. And the Staff of his Spear *(Goliath's)* was like a Weaver's Beam.

Job vii. 6. My Days are ſwifter than a Weaver's Shuttle.

Levit.xiii. 47, 48. Whether it be a woolen Garment, or a linen Garment; whether it be in the Warp, or the Woof.

Iſa. vii. 6. The High-way of the Fuller's Field.

Mal. iii. 2. Like Fuller's Soap.

Num.iv. 8 Cloth of Scarlet.

12. —— —— Blue.

CHAP. II.

Pliny, Columella, *and* Strabo, *of Sheep, Wool, and Woolen Manufacture*; *and* Polydore Virgil, &c. *of the firſt Invention of Spinning, Weaving, Fulling, Dying.*

1. IF it is not true, That our Wool *for Clothing is to all the World as much a Neceſſary of Life as any thing elſe*; as it is wrong to ſay ſo much, and unwiſe to believe it; ſo perhaps it may be found not to be good Policy

licy, to purſue quite the ſame Meaſures, in reſpect thereof, as if that was really the Caſe. But this home-bred Sentiment, which has long been cheriſhed in ſome Degree, and of late very ſtrongly, though moſt abſurdly, maintained, is as little favoured from other Books of Antiquity, as from the Holy Scriptures. *Pliny* * in his natural Hiſtory, and † *Columella de Re Ruſtica*, ſpeak largely in Praiſe of Sheep and Wool; diſtinguiſhing the Kinds and Sorts of each; informing us in what Parts of *Italy* and *Aſia*, &c. were the beſt; but don't ſo much as mention the Sheep of *Britain* and *Ireland*. *Strabo* ‖ ſpeaks of the fine Woolen Manufacture of *Turtedania*, a Part of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and the yet finer of the *Coraxi*, a People of *Aſia*, and the large Price of Rams there for breeding; this ſo early as in the Time of *Tiberius Cæſar*. *Polydore Virgil* ‡ (in his Book *De Inventoribus Rerum*)

* 'Magna eſt Pecori Gratia, vel in Placamentis Deorum, vel in Uſu Vellerum. Ut boves ſumptum Hominum exolunt, ita Corporum Tutela Pecori debetur. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 8. c. 47.

'Ovium ſumma Genera duo ſunt, tectum & colonicum. Illud molliùs, hoc in Paſcuo elegantius. Lana autem laudatiſſima *Apulæ*, & quæ in *Italia Græci* Pecoris appellatur, alibi, *Italica*. Tertium locum *Mileſiæ* Oves obtinent. Circa *Tarentum Canuſiumq;* ſummam Nobilitatem habent. In *Aſia* vero eodem Genere *Laodiceæ*. Alba circum Padanis nulla prefertur; nec Libra centenos Nummos ad hoc ævi exceſſit ulla.'

† 'Poſt majores Quadrupedes, ovilli Pecoris ſecunda Ratio eſt, quæ prima fit, ſi ad Utilitatis Magnitudinem referas. Nam id præcipue nos contra Frigoris Violentiam protegit; corporibuſque noſtris liberaliora præbet Velamina. Columella, l. 7.

'Pinguis & Campeſtris Situs proceras Oves tolerat, gracilis & collinus quadratas, Sylveſtris & montoſus exiguas. Generis eximii Mileſias, Calabras, Appulaſque noſtri exiſtimabant, earumque optimas Tarentinas. Nunc Gallicæ pretioſores.'

‖ Speaking of *Turtedania*, 'Frequens inde primum Veſtis veniebat, nunc vero *Coraxorum* amplius Lanificium excellentiſſimæ Pulchritudinis, unde admiſſarii Arietes Talento emantur.' Strabo.

‡ 'Arachne Lanificii peritiſſima Minervam in Certamen provocavit.——Nendi autem texendique Artem Palladem inſtituiſſe nemo ambigit, quippe quæ Minervæ Ars nomi- Polydore;

Rerum) informs us who were by the *Gentile* World reputed the Inventors of the Arts of ſpinning Wool, weaving, fulling, and dying Cloth. And however they might be miſtaken, in attributing that to one, which belonged to another, or concerning the exact Times when the ſuppoſed Perſons did live; it ſhews nevertheleſs that there was ſuch a thing as Woolen Manufacture long before *England* had the Art (as will ‡ appear) and probably before it produced the Material.

‡ Chap. 4. §. 1.

CHAP.

ſ natur; quod innuere videtur Naſo his Verſibus:

ſ Quid facis Æacide, non ſunt tua Munera Lanæ.
ſ Ah! Titulos alia Palladis Arte pete.

ſ Plinius tamen dicit Egyptios textilia comperiſſe. Fulloniam artem Nicias Megarenſis invenit. Lanas infecere primum Sardibus Lydi, autor Plin. Uſum vero lanificii Juſtinus, lib. 2. Athenienſes primitus docuiſſe tradit. Quod ego Minervæ potius tribuerim; ſiquidem illa erat, antequam Athenæ conditæ forent, & quoniam lanificium callebat, credibile eſt eam primo lanificium monſtraſſe, præſertim Athenienſibus, apud quos caſtiſſime colebatur. Quapropter Juſtinus, ut puto, facile intelligit Athenienſes lanificii Uſum primos poſt Minervam * docuiſſe.

* ſ *Here I muſt take my Riſe, and to you ſhew*
ſ *What* Sanquet *or* Cooper *would have us know*
ſ *Out of their Chronicles; for they do ſay*
ſ *Weaving invented was by* Naamah,
ſ *Siſter to* Tubal Cain.
ſ Poliodorus, *in his Hiſtory*
ſ De Inventione Rerum, *doth ſpecify*
ſ *Three worthy Women; and of theſe three one*
ſ Minerva *is; and he ſays, ſhe alone*
ſ *Deviſed firſt to make Wool into Cloath,*
ſ *Which very likely is to be a Truth;*
ſ *(For ſhe with her Brother* Bacchus *went to* India*)*
ſ *And there* Minerva *might her Knowledge learn;*
ſ *Although 'tis very likely that they there*
ſ *(The Country being hot) all Silk did wear.*
ſ *But ſhe to* Greece *returning, where the Sun*
ſ *Being not ſo vehement, ſhe firſt begun*
ſ *To exerciſe her Skill in Wool: and ſo*
ſ *It may be true, what* Poliodore *doth ſhow.*

The Antiquity, Utility, and Excellency of the Art of Weaving. By *R. C.* 1677.

CHAP. III.

* *The History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients; written in* French *by Monsieur* Huet *Bishop of* Auranches; *made* English *from the* Paris *Edition: and printed at* London 1717.

1. PLINY places the *Omanians* in *Persia*. *Arrian* P. 30. adds, that the People carried to *Barigaza*, an ancient City of *India*, and to *Arabia*, Pearls, Purples, Habits of their Country, &c.

2. When

* Altho' this is so far an entertaining Book, as to give a pleasing Idea of the Learning, Labour and Sagacity of the Author; yet the Reader who expects from it, by reason of the Title, any very particular Account of Trade and Manufacture, as exercised among the Ancients, will find himself disappointed; nevertheless in this Book is the best Account thereof which he can hope to meet with. For it was not for want of Inclination, or through any superficial Neglect in Mr. *Huet*, that Things of that sort are so sparingly touched upon by him in this Work; but because it being but a Transcript from other Works, the Copy could not possibly exceed the Originals. Some Books, he tells you, of Commerce and Navigation were lost, which might have given Light into these Matters; particularly those of *Varro* on that Subject. Moreover he says, the Generality of ancient Historians (*like it seems to those of later Date*) are employed in recording Things of a different Nature; Things which §. 6. are certainly more entertaining to the Reader, and which it is thought more polite to be acquainted with. Hence it comes to pass that this Book entitled, *A History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, is chiefly a History of Sea Fights and Naval Expeditions; only Mr. *Huet* judiciously observing that all Strength at Sea implies necessarily a considerable Commerce, as the Basis and Foundation thereof; therefore where-ever he meets with the one, he concludes for the Certainty of the other also. §. 7, 16.

I observe from one Place of his Book (*c.* 59.) he is so entirely destitute of other Light into that Part of the *Roman* History, which respects maritime Affairs, for a certain Pe-

Page 32. 2. When the *Romans* became Masters of *Asia*, the *Persians* applied themselves more to Trade, but chiefly embraced the Commerce of the Southern Sea.

3. *Xenophon* speaking of *Athens* mentions it as a City of great Trade, and well furnished with all Sorts of Commodities * for Traffick.

Page 49. 4. About fifty Years after the Reign of *Minos*, the *Argonauts* went to *Colchis* in Search of the *Golden Fleece*. Now altho' the Fable would give the Air of a military Expedition to this Enterprize; yet nevertheless there is some Appearance that it was equally carried on by War and Merchandize. This Golden Fleece is a Mystery, which has been variously explained by the Ancients. Some say it was the Profit arising from the *Wool* of *Colchis*;

riod, that he is forced to glean all his Intelligence from the Laws of the Empire, as contained in the *Theodosian Code*. And this again is in some measure the Case of these Memoirs. The Statute Books are not only the Compiler's best Authority, but chief Materials, till towards the latter End of Queen *Elizabeth*, when writing and printing came more into Use upon all Subjects. What is here selected from Mr. *Huet*, is all that appeared to have any Relation to the Subject in Hand.

* And no doubt but Cloth was one of them. A Fable ascribed to *Demosthenes* supposes that the People of *Athens* were well acquainted at least with the Nature of Sheep, and the Business of Shepherds.

'He had served them with great Fidelity in the Station 'of an Orator, when upon a certain Occasion, apprehending to be delivered over to his Enemies, he told the *Athenians* his Countrymen the following Story. *Once upon a 'Time the Wolves desired a League with the* Sheep, *upon 'this Condition, that the Cause of Strife might be taken 'away; which was the* Shepherds *and the* Mastiffs: *This 'being granted, the* Wolves *without Fear made havock of 'the* Sheep.' DRAPER's Letters, p. 127.

And a Dialogue between *Socrates* and *Aristarchus* shews no less, that they were accustomed to Woolen Manufacture; for that the latter by the Advice of the former, in order to maintain his Sisters, Nieces and Cousins, in a Time of public Distress, 'laid in a Provision of WOOL; on which they 'worked from Morning to Night.'

this; others, that it meant the † Gold that was taken out of the Rivers of the Country.

5. The City of *Corinth*, for its Land Trade, was, in its Situation, the moſt commodious Staple ‖ in all *Greece*; from whence ſhe drew ſuch large Tolls, that *Philip* uſed to call her the Chain of *Greece*. Pag. 103.

6. After the Defeat of the Pirates (by *Pompey*) Commerce (which had been ſore interrupted) began to re-eſtabliſh itſelf among the People who inhabited the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean*. *Wherein that Commerce particularly conſiſted, is not ſo eaſily known, becauſe the ancient Authors, who chiefly applied themſelves to preſerve the moſt conſiderable Events, have very much neglected this Part of Hiſtory.* Pag. 111. Pag. 112.

7. When *Cæſar* ſubdued the *Belgians*, the People of *Vannes* (which *Strabo* places among the *Belgians*) were obliged among others to give them Hoſtages. But the *Vannes* chiefly carried on a conſiderable Trade with *Britain*; and as they foreſaw that *Cæſar* was about to attack the *Britiſh* Nation, they endeavoured to turn him from it. Now theſe People were more powerful than any others in thoſe Quarters, by the Number and Strength of their Ships, which they maintained chiefly on Account of Trade with *Britain*.

8. Now altho' the *Romans* knew *Britain*, yet was it hardly known to the *Gauls*; they were only apprized of its Coaſts oppoſite to them; and that by the Relation of their Merchants, who from time to time had traded with the *Britons*. Pag. 113.

9. The Expeditions of *Cæſar*, and thoſe which the *Romans* had made before his Time into *Spain*, did mightily promote Commerce in the Weſtern Parts of *Europe*. The People of *Belgium* did not willingly admit Strangers upon that ſcore: But the *Britiſh* Ports were open to foreign Merchants.

10. The

† Might it not be both? (See §. 20. of this Chap.) And does it not plainly argue a Senſe the Ancients had of the Value of *Wool* and *Woolen Manufacture*, their Experience of the Uſe and Benefit thereof, and this before *England* (as we ſhall ſee) knew any thing of the matter?

‖ And muſt not *Wool*, or *Cloth*, or both, neceſſarily have been in the Number of thoſe Staple Commodities at *Corinth*?

Pag 116. 10. The *Spaniards*, and *Phœnicians* who had great Eſtabliſhments in *Spain*, made frequent Voyages into the Weſtern Parts of *Britain*, and into the adjacent Iſlands, which Antiquity comprized under one general Name of *Caſſiterides*. The great Gain which they drew from the *Britiſh* Lead and Tin, induced them to make a Secret of it, leſt the Multitude of Buyers ſhould diminiſh their Profits; and therefore a *Phœnician* Ship being cloſely purſued by one of the *Romans*, was by the Pilot run upon the Rocks, and ſplit to pieces, and ſhipwreck made of all its Cargo, that thereby he might decoy the *Roman* Veſſel into the ſame Diſaſter, leſt it ſhould have found its Way to the great Mart of Tin, as *Strabo* tells us. The *Phœnician* Nation approving their Countryman's Conduct, made good unto him all the Damage he ſuſtained by the Loſs of his Ship.

11. But the *Romans* being greedy after Gain, at length found out the Way to *Britain*. *Strabo* adds, that *Publius Craſſus* making a Voyage to that Country, diſcovered the Way thither. 'Tis likely he meant *Craſſus* the Father, who was ſlain in the *Parthian* Wars; for when he was Proconſul, he made Wars againſt the *Portugueze*, and triumph'd over the *Spaniards*, and was informed by the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* (inhabiting *Cadiz*) of the Trade of the *Caſſiterides*. Yet I find better Reaſons to attribute this Voyage to *Craſſus* the younger, whom the *Parthians* put to Death together with his Father; for while he was Lieutenant under *Cæſar* in the War with the *Gauls*, he ſubdued the *Vanni*, and all the neighbouring Nations inhabiting the Weſtern and Northern Coaſts of that Country; and during his Abode among them, he was apprized of the Traffick they carried on with the *Britons* and the Iſland *Caſſiterides*; and being a young, valiant, enterprizing Hero, formed the Deſign of viſiting in Perſon thoſe Iſlands, to be fully aſſured of the Relations made of them; or 'tis likely he was commiſſioned by *Cæſar* to take Cognizance of the Weſtern Coaſts of *Britain*, as *Voluſenus* was to diſcover the Eaſtern and Southern Parts of the ſame Iſland.

12. *Craſſus* being nearer to *Hibernia* than any of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, he learned, without doubt, that that Iſland had good Harbours, and was much frequented by Merchants. In *Strabo*'s Time, the Veſſels that ſailed from

from *Gallia* towards the North, did not pass farther than *Hibernia*; for they then believed, that the more Northern Climates were altogether uninhabitable, by the Extremity of the Cold; but afterwards the *Hibernian* Harbours came to be more known than those of *Britain*. *Tacitus* tells us, that the People of *Cornwal*, by conversing continually with Foreigners, became more tractable and courteous than others of their Countrymen, as *Diodorus Siculus* likewise assures us. But as for the Inland and Northern Parts of the Island, and the adjacent little Islands belonging to *Britain*, 'tis highly probable, that the Inhabitants thereof, notwithstanding the Conflux of Foreigners, did yet retain their natural Brutality and uncultivated Manners. And notwithstanding *Solinus* says, that the Inhabitants of the *Cassiterides* did refuse to take Money for their Commodities, this is no Argument of their Ignorance, but was rather for the Furtherance of their Traffick; for the *Britons* that were known to *Cæsar* used Money made of Copper or Iron, and paid *Cæsar* their Tribute Money in those Coins.

13. *Strabo* tells us, that Corn, Cattle, Gold, Silver, Hides and Hounds were the Commodities furnished by the *Britons*; and speaking of the *Cassiterides* as making a Part of the same, he adds Tin and Lead *. 'Twas from the Western Parts of *Britain* and its adjacent Islands, their Tin and Lead came, which more than any other Commodity enriched the Country, and gave it the Name of *Cassiterides*. Pag. 118.

14. As for the Dogs of *Britain*, they had them at *Rome* before the *Cæsarian* Expedition into that Island; inasmuch as *Strabo*, and the Poet *Gratius* cited by *Ovid*, make mention of them; and the Poem about hunting is still extant, wherein mention is made of the *British Dogs*, and the Use the *Gauls* made of them in their Wars, and the *Romans* in hunting. Pag. 120.

15. The Merchandizes imported into *Britain* were, Salt, earthen Wares, Implements made of Copper, of Ivory, and Amber.

16. That we may have a just Idea of the Traffick of *Britain* by Sea in *Cæsar*'s Time, we must understand that

* Not a word here of *Sheep* or *Wool*; Cattle and Herds always denoting Beasts, as Flocks do Sheep.

that their Veſſels were made of light, pliant Wood covered with Leather *, which were then uſed in other Nations, and in theſe latter Times among the *Green-*
Pag. 122. *landers*. This was the State of the *Britiſh* Trade, until the Wars between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* made this Country
Pag. 123. to be neglected by the *Romans*. —— And ſurely we cannot attribute the maritime Power of the *Vanni*, and their great Correſpondence with the *Britons* to proceed from any other Cauſe than their Sea Traffick, and Naval Negotiations.

Pag. 127. 17. But the principal Commerce of the *Gauls* was then carried on at *Marſeilles*; and *Diodorus* aſſures us, that the *Britiſh* Tin was brought by Land Carriage through the Heart of *Gallia* to that Place, as alſo to *Narbonne*.

Pag. 134. 18. Beſides the Metals that were found in *Spain*, that Country afforded many other Merchandizes, *viz.* Wine and WOOL, with fine *Stuffs* and CLOTH, and fine Linen; which Inventions are attributed to them.

Pag. 140. 19. All the Commerce of *Poland*, and the Provinces depending on that Country, was only carried on in their Ports of the *Baltick Sea*. It was at thoſe Places they ſold the Merchandizes of their own Growth, ſuch as Leather, WOOL, *&c.*

Pag. 142. 20. Beſides the Gold and other Metals of *Colchis*, the *Pontus Euxinus* alſo afforded Corn, Leather, Flax, Honey, Wax, *Flocks of Sheep*, *&c.*

Pag. 146. 21. The *Tartars* changed their Furs, Butter and Horſes with the *Turks* and *Armenians* for their Calicoes, *Woolen Cloths*, *&c.*

22. If the Books of Navigation that were written by *Varro* had yet remained, they would certainly have given
Pag. 153. great Light into this Subject. In the Year of *Rome* 259 was inſtituted the College of Merchants.

23. I think

* Mr. *Evelyn*, in his Treatiſe of Navigation and Commerce (1674), inclines, upon the Authority of certain Writers, to think that the Structure of their Veſſels was not altogether of ſuch ſlight Materials; and Mr. *Huet* acknowledges it no irrational Belief, from the Account given by *Julius Cæſar* himſelf, but that no Author has expreſsly ſaid as much; and ſome have affirmed directly the contrary; and therefore, in regard it is uncertain Conjecture, he leaves the Matter undecided.

23. I think we may be certain, that the *Egyptian* Commerce is as ancient as their Adoration of *Mercury* under the Name of *Thoth*. He was alſo worſhipped under the Name of *Taautus* by the *Phœnicians*. Both of theſe People were equally given to Trade, and honoured *Mercury* as the chief God of Commerce. Pag. 179.

24. From *Alexandria* to *Rome* came, in immenſe Quantities, Spices of all Sorts, Cloth, Paper, Glaſs, Flax, Hemp, and magnificent Robes. Pag. 185.

25. From the Borders of the *Perſian* Gulph were carried into *India* and *Arabia*, Pearls, Purple, Stuffs, Robes, &c. Pag. 201.

26. The Merchandizes of *Thina* the Capital of *China*, which are WOOL, Thread and wrought Silks, are (according to *Arrian*) carried by Land by the City *Bactra* to *Barygaza* *. Pag. 238, 239.

CHAP.

* From the foregoing *Hiſtory of the Commerce*, &c. *of the Ancients*, it is to be remarked, that tho' other Matters relating to *Britain* are there pretty circumſtantially related; yet is there Nothing ſaid either of *Sheep* in the Kingdom, or of WOOL, or *Cloth* imported thither, or exported thence, as from, and to, ſome other Countries. And as, according to Hiſtorians, the *Britons* at this Time made no Uſe of Cloaths, ſo probably they had no Sheep, at leaſt not any Number to be accounted of. *Speed*, it's true, (p. 180.) upon the Authority of ſome Writers which he quotes, is of another Opinion, namely, that they had Sheep, and did not know the Uſe of the *Wool*. But methinks by the ſame Means that they came to know that Tin, and Lead, and Hides were Commodities of ſome Value, they would have learned the Worth of *Wool* alſo, ſo far as to have made Merchandize of it, although they diſdained to uſe it themſelves.

CHAP. IV.

An Abstract from Records, History, and the Statute Books, relating to the State and Trade of England *from the Time of the* Romans *first invading it, to the Year* 1331, *which was the* 6th *of* Edw. III.

Rapin's Introd. Vol. 1. p. 5.

1. ANciently, before the *Romans* first invaded *Britain*, the Use of Cloaths was scarce known in it. None but the Inhabitants of the Southern Coasts covered their Nakedness with the Skins of wild Beasts, to avoid giving Offence to Strangers that came to traffick with them. Their chief Commerce was first with the *Phœnician* Merchants, afterwards with the *Greeks* for Tin, and that in the extreme Parts of *Cornwal* only.

Pag. 14.

2. About the Time that *Osterius Scapula* became Governor of *Britain*, *London* was made a trading Colony, and that Part of *Britain* lying between the *Thames* and the Sea was reduced into the Form of a Province.

P. 17---19.

3. All *Britain* by *Julius Agricola* being reduced into a *Roman* Province, the People by degrees were civilized, and learned to speak the *Latin* Tongue, and to dress after the *Roman* Manner.

Stillingfleet's Chron. pretiof. p. 50.

4. *A. D.* 712—727. In King *Ina's* Laws, which were made betwixt 712 and 727, it is said an Ewe with her Lamb is worth one Shilling till thirteen Nights after *Easter*. *Brompton Chron.* Instead of thirteen it should be fourteen, as in the *Saxon* of Mr. *Lambard*.

Rapin, p. 95.

5. *A. D.* 885. About this Time King *Alfred* having provided for the Safety of the State, endeavoured to make the People relish the Fruits of Peace, by introducing Trade and Commerce, Arts and Sciences.

Pag. 99.

6. *A. D.* 92[illegible]. *Edward* the elder died. He had Children by three Wives, first *Egwina* a * *Shepherd's* Daughter.

* *Speed* says (p. 36.) the Daughter of a mean Gentleman named *Bercher*; perhaps a Country Gentleman, no Soldier; and therefore, in the Language of Courtiers at that Time, stiled a Shepherd. Not that we are to measure the Grandeur

Daughter. *So that by this Time* Sheep *were not uncommon in* England, *tho' rare, as we may imagine in respect of After-times, when the Country became free from Wolves, from which (being greatly infested with them)*

7. *A. D.* 961. *Edgar* the Peaceable bethought himself of an Expedient, which so far succeeded, that in three Years there was not one left in the Kingdom. Pag. 106.

8. *A. D.* 1000. In the *Senatus Consulta de Monticolis*, in the Time of King *Ethelred*, if a Sheep be lost, the Compensation was to be 1 *s. Saxon* Money, *viz.* 5 *d.* to the Shilling, and 48 *s.* to the Pound. Chron. pret. p. 51.

9. *A. D.* 1100. *Liber niger Sacerarii. Pro Ariete vel Ove* 4 *d.* This was the Exchange made by the King, that instead of Provisions for his Houshold, he might have Money to defray the Expences of his Court, and pay his Soldiers †. Pag. 55.

10. *A. D.* 1100—35. In the Laws of *Henry* I. (c. 76.) forty Sheep are valued at 1 *l.* Pag. 56.

11. *A. D.* 1171. *Henry* II. subdued *Ireland*. Its Fertility and Situation for Trade has raised in *England* a Jealousy thereof ever since. Its chiefest Wealth however consisted at this Time in a great Breed of Cattle. *Rapin*, p. 234.

12. *A. D.* 1185. By the Custom of *Belesbal*, the Tenants of *Shireborn* are to pay a Ram, or 8 *d.*; and in the Preface to King *Athelstan*'s Laws, a Ram was at 4 *d.* Chron. pret. p. 57.

13. *A. D.*

deur and Delicacy of Courts in those Days by present Appearances. 'For it was remarked of this same King *Edward*, that being careful, as we may conceive, that his Children should have proper princely Education, 'he sette 'his Sons to Scole, and his Doughters he sette to Woll 'werke, taking Example of *Charles* the Conquestour.' *Fabian*'s Chron. c. 179.

† 'At first, the Tenants of *Knights Fees* answered to 'their Lords by military Services; and the Tenants of 'Socage Lands and *Demesnes* in great measure by Work and 'Provisions. Afterwards the Revenues of the Crown were 'answered in Gold and Silver, and sometimes in Horses, 'Dogs, and Birds of Game, *&c.* sometimes in both toge-'ther. The Pound of Silver at this Time was 20 *s.* and 'the Shilling consisted of twelve Pence; and a Penny was 'the twentieth Part of an Ounce, equal to our three 'Pence.' *Rapin*, p. 189. *Coin Note.*

Rapin, P. 254. 13. *A. D.* 1193. *Richard* I. in his Return from the Crusade, being made Prisoner by the Duke of *Austria*, towards paying his Ransom, one Year's Wool was borrowed of the Abbeys of the *Cistercian*'s Order, and of the Religious Houses of the Order of *Sempringham* *.

Madox's Hist. of the *Exchequer*, P. 532. 14. *A. D.* 1198. In the tenth Year of King *Richard* I. *Gervase de Aldermanbury* rendered an Account of the Chamberlainship of *London*, from *Whitsontide* in the eighth Year of *Richard* I. to the Feast of St. *Philip* and St. *James* next before the Coronation of King *John*, except nine Weeks. He accounted for 23 *l.* 12 *s.* the Fines of Merchants for Leave to export Wool and Leather——for 20 *l.* arising by Sale of Wool † belonging to *William de Bologne*——for 225 Marks for Wool, *viz.* for 45 Sacks which were taken at *Hull* ‖.

Pag. 265, *Note* 7. 15. *A. D.* 1202. Silver at this Time was but 20 *d.* an Ounce (every Pound at that Time being a Pound Weight) whereas now every Pound of Silver makes 3 *l.* Sterling; and accordingly the Weight of every Shilling was then the twentieth Part of a Pound.

P. 346--7. *Note* 3. *A. D.* 1203, *Hugh Oisel* proffered one thousand Marks to have the *Quinzime* arising from Merchandizes throughout *England* from

* This is the first Mention made of Wool in *Rapin*'s History of *England*; so little has this Subject had the Notice of *English* Historians. And yet by this Circumstance of the King's Ransom, we may perceive that it had been for some Time the best merchantable Commodity of the Kingdom, and was now the next, of all other things, to ready Money. We shall hereafter find it frequently made use of as the great Stake upon all national Emergencies, like as, at present, the Land Tax, and Malt Bill, *&c.*

† Attempted (it is to be supposed) to be exported without Leave, or Payment of what was legally due, or customarily required in that Case by the Crown.

‖ Intended (again it is to be supposed) for Exportation without the proper Leave and Payment; by which means becoming forfeited, (see §. 26.) and 225 Marks being accounted for 45 Sacks, we learn from hence so far the Price of Wool in *England* at this Time, as that this particular Parcel was valued at 5 Marks the Sack (of 26 Stone) which is somewhat more than 2 *s.* 6 *d. per* Stone. Which 2 *s.* 6 *d.* being then one Eighth of a Pound of Silver, was equal in Quantity or Weight to 7 *s.* 6 *d.* present Money of *Great Britain*.

from Year to Year. *A. D.* 1204, *William de Wretham* and others accounted for the *Quinzime* of Merchants at the ſeveral Ports of *England*. The *Quinzime* of *London* was 836*l.* of *Boſton* 780*l.*

16. *One Breadth of dyed Cloth, Ruſſets and Haberjects,* viz. *two Yards within the Liſts.* 9 Hen. III. c. 25.* Statute Book.

17. *A. D.* 1242, a War breaking out with *France,* the Perſons and Goods of the *Engliſh* Merchants were ſeized in the *French* Dominions, and of the *French* in the *Engliſh* Dominions, to the great Injury of Trade, which ſeems not to have been practiſed before. *Rapin,* p. 316.

18. *A. D.* 1250. About this Time Money was ſo ſhamefully clipped, that by an Order it was enjoined to be taken only by Weight; which Order (it's ſaid) proved a great Obſtruction to Trade for ſome time. P. 321.

A. D. 1275. Upon a Quarrel between *England* and *Flanders,* all Commerce having been prohibited, certain *Florentine* Merchants are permitted to carry over to *Flanders* 1068 Sacks of Wool, paying therefore to the King 10*s. per* Sack. *Rymer,* tom. 2. p. 50.

19. *A. D.* 1284. About this Time Merchant Strangers were firſt permitted to rent Houſes, and to buy and ſell their own Commodities themſelves, without any Interruption from the Citizens. For before this, they hired Lodgings, and their Landlords were the Brokers, who ſold all their Goods and Merchandizes for them †. *Rapin,* p. 361. *Note* 9.

20. *A. D.*

* 'True it is that broad Cloths were made, though in 'ſmall Number, at the Time, and long before it.' *And yet this Time* (A. D. 1224.) *is* 107 *Years* [m] *ſooner than, by the Generality of Writers, the* Engliſh *are allowed to have had any the leaſt Inſight into the Woolen Manufacture. But here we find that broad Cloth was a Manufacture in the Kingdom now, and long before this Time, tho' not in the ſame Quantity or Number as in Lord Chief Juſtice* Coke's *Time. And if we obſerve the Accounts we ſhall meet with of Woolen Manufacture* (*in* Scotland [n] *particularly*) *we ſhall find, that to be able to make broad Cloth, is looked upon as a Perfection in that Manufacture, not to be attained immediately, but by degrees.* *Coke's* 2d Inſtit. p. 41. [m] Chap. 5. §. 1. [n] Ch. 71. §. 9. Ch. 128. §. 10.

† *Fabian,* who places this Affair two Years later, *viz.* in 1286, gives the following Account thereof.

'In this Yere alſo, whereas of olde Tyme, longe before 'this Seaſon, the Marchauntes Straungers comynge with *Fabian,* 1286.

Fabian, 1291. 20. *A. D.* 1291. In this XIX of *Edward* I. the Kinge ordayned, That all woll whiche ſhuld be ſold unto Straungers ſhuld be brought unto *Sandewiche*, where the Staple thereof long after was.

Rapin, p. 378. *Note* 8. 21. *A. D.* 1296. The Cuſtom of Wool was raiſed by the King's ſole Power from twenty to forty Shillings a Bag. (*Walſing.* p. 69.) But this being juſtly deemed a Grievance, gave Occaſion to the following Statute, viz. *A Releaſe of Toll taken by the King for Wool, and a Grant*

'theyr Marchaundize were lodged within the Cytezins of 'the Cytie of *London*, and ſold all theyr Marchaundyſes by 'the procurynge of his Hooſt. For the which his ſayd 'Hooſt had a certayne of every *lib.* By meanes of the 'ſayd Marchauntes Straungers it was brought to paſſe, that 'they might hire to them Houſes for to dwell in, and for 'Stowage of their Wares. By meane whereof they uſed 'many Diſceytes both in the Utteraunce of falſe Wares, 'and alſo by their Weyghts, which they uſed in theyr own 'Houſes to the greate Hurt of the hole Realme of *Englande*. 'Wherefore ſodaynly Searche was made, and theyr 'Weyghtes found, and provyd falſe. And over that all 'ſuch Wares as they ſhulde have weyed at the Kynges 'Beame, they weyed moche thereof in theyre ſayd Houſes, 'to the Hynderaunce of the Kinges Cuſtomes. For whych 'Offences agayne them provyd, to the Nombre of xx. of 'the ſayd Straungers were arreſtyd, and ſent unto the 'Toure of *London*, and theyr Weyghtes brent and conſu-'med in *Weſtchepe* of *London*, the *Thurſdaye* before the 'Feaſte of *Simon* and *Jude*. And fynally the ſayd Mar-'chauntes were delivered by Fyne maky[illegible] 'of a Thouſande Poundes, when they h[illegible] 'Seaſon harde and vyle Pryſonement.' *difficult to de-termine, tho' not very material to know[illegible] Diſtance of Time, whether this happened through an[illegible] Crimes of theſe foreign Merchants, or whether it was [illegible] effect of Indigna-tion only in the Citizens of* London *conc[illegible] againſt them for the Loſs of their Brokage*; however,

Coke's 2d Inſtitutes, p. 741. 'In the 18th Year of *Edward* the IIt, [*viz. A. D.* 1289] 'in the Parliament-Roll it is contained thus, *Cives London 'petunt quod Alienigenæ Mercatores expellantur a Civitate, 'quia ditantur ad Depauperationem Civium, &c.*

Reſponſio. '*Rex intendit quod Mercatores extranei ſunt 'idonei & utiles Magnatibus, &c. & non habet Conſilium 'eos expellendi.*'

Grant that he will not take the same without common Consent and good Will. 25 Edw. I. c. 7. *

22. In the 26th of *Edward* I. there was payable to the King for Customs, for every Sack of Wool carried out of the Port of *Len*, half a Mark; for every 300 *Pelles lanutæ*, half a Mark. The King appointed *Hugh de Massingham* and *Ranulph le Ken* to collect and receive the said Customs at *Len*; and a Writ issued to the Sheriffs of [the Counties of] *Cambridge*, *Huntingdon*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Bucks*, *Warwick*, *Leicester*, *Rutland* and *Norfolk*, commanding them to make Proclamation, that all Merchants in their several Baliwicks should carry Merchandizes of that sort to *Len*. In like manner Customers were appointed for the several Towns or Ports of *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, *Kingston* upon *Hull*, *Boston*, *Yarmouth*, *Ipswich*, *Southampton*, *Bristol* and *London*. The Mayor of *London*, and other Citizens, in Obedience to the King's Order, caused a Scale to be made for weighing of Wools. They brought it to the Barons of the *Exchequer*, assuring them it had been examined and approved by the Scale [or Beam] which was used for weighing the Wools in *London*. The Treasurer and Barons straightway delivered it to *William de Barton*, to be carried to *Hugh de Massingham* and *Ranulph le Ken*, Commissioners of the King's Customs of Wools and Leathers at *Len*, to be used there for weighing the Wools exported. And they delivered the said *William* in *Madox*, p. 535.

* 'And for so much as the more Part of the Commonalty of the Realm, find themselves sore aggrieved with 'the *Maletent* of Wools, that is, to wit, a Toll of XL 'Shillings for every Sack of Wool: and have made Petition 'to us to release the same. WE at their Requests have 'clearly released it, and have granted for us and our Heirs, 'that we shall not take such Things without their common '† Assent and good Will, saving to us and our Heirs, the 'Custom of Wools, &c. granted before by the Commonalty aforesaid. In Witness whereof, we have caused these 'our Letters to be made Patents ‖.'

† '*That is, by the common Assent of the Realm by Authority of Parliament.*'

‖ '*Acts of Parliament are many times passed in the Form of Charters or Letters Patents.*' *Coke's* 2d Institutes, p. 525-6.

in a Purſe, ſealed with the *Exchequer* Seal, the Seals appointed to be uſed by the ſaid Cuſtomers, for the Cocket, in cuſtoming the Wools and Leathers at *Len*; who was to convey them to the ſaid *Hugh* and *Ranulph*.

P. 537. 23. *A. D.* 1297. About this Time * the Community of the Realm granted to the King, in Aid of his Wars againſt *France*, the Cuſtom or Duty of 40*s.* for every Sack of Wool for two or three Years, if the War laſted ſo long. And at the ſame time the King granted, that he would take no Cuſtom of the Community without their common Aſſent . . . . . ſaving to the King and his Heirs, the Cuſtom of Wools granted to him by the Community before that Time.

Chron. pret. p. 65. 24. *A. D.* 1298. At *Scarborough* in *Yorkſhire* the Price of a Sheep 1 *d.*

Madox, p. 537. † The King releaſed to the Community of the Realm the Cuſtom or Subſidy of 40*s.* and thereupon commanded the *Cuſtodes* of his ſaid Cuſtoms in the ſeveral Ports of *England* to forbear receiving the ſame, and likewiſe commanded the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties to make Proclamation in their Bailywicks, That all Merchants and others, who deſigned to export Wools, Woolfels and Leathers, might ſafely carry them to the ſeveral Ports, where the King had a Cocket, paying the old Duties only, *viz.* half a Mark for every Sack of Wool, *&c.*

Chron. pret. p. 66. 25. *A. D.* 1299. This Year was made an Act of *Common Council* for Prices of Victuals to be ſold at *London* by Conſent of the King and Nobility, *viz.* a fat Lamb from *Chriſtmas* to *Shrovetide*, 1*s.* 4*d.* The ſame for all the Year after at 4*d.*

1302. In *Dugdale*'s Hiſtory of St. *Paul*'s (p. 32.) a fat Mutton at 1*s.* an Ewe at 8*d.*

1309. *Will. Thorn (inter decem Scriptores)* among other things, notes it as an extravagant Price given, upon the Occaſion of an Inſtallation Feaſt, for 200 Muttons, 30*l.* *viz.* 3*s.* *per* Head.

Madox, p. 537. 26. In the ninth Year of *Edward* II. theſe Cuſtoms were payable to the King, *viz.* for every Sack of Wool carried

Rapin, p. 378. P. 380. * *Edward* forms a League againſt *France* (1297.)

† 'In order to gain the Affections of his Subjects, *Edward* called a Parliament, and of his own accord confirmed the great Charter, *&c.* which had a very good Effect upon the People.'

carried out of the Port of *Briſtol*, half a Mark. And if Merchants defrauded the King of his Cuſtoms, they forfeited their Goods uncuſtomed. The Treaſurer and Barons cauſed Inquiſitions to be taken in all maritime Places about the Concealment of the King's Cuſtoms for Wool, *&c.* and to be returned into the *Exchequer*. —— A Writ iſſued out of the *Exchequer* for arreſting the Wools of certain foreign and *Engliſh* Merchants exported uncuſtomed. *Ralph de Dalton* and *John de Aſlagby* were ordered to arreſt them.

27. *A. D.* 1315. A very grievous Famine in *England*, which laſted three Years, and deſtroyed an infinite Number of People. The Parliament endeavoured to help it by ſettling the Price of Proviſions, but in vain. They enacted, that a fat Weather or Mutton unſhorn ſhould not be ſold for more at the moſt than 20 *d.* and ſhorn for 14 *d.* *Rapin*, p. 393. *Note* 4. Chron. pret. p. 72.

28. *All Staples ſhall ceaſe, and Merchants may come in and go out with their Merchandizes.* 3 Edw. III. c. 9.*

29. Sundry Merchants of *Brabant* were arreſted by the *Engliſh* Merchants for Wools taken up to the Uſe of the Duke of *Brabant*; at which Duke's Requeſt the King requireth that all the *Engliſh* Merchants do appear before the Council, and abide further Order therein. *Pryn's* Records, 5 *Ed.* III.

P. S. *As the State of the* Engliſh *Silver Coin underwent many Alterations between the* 28*th of* Edward I. *and the* 43*d of* Elizabeth; *and as Silver is the common Meaſure of the Price of all things; and as the Quantity of Silver in every Coin, not the Denomination, is the true Meaſure of its Value, in Commerce eſpecially; ſo it is thought proper to inſert here the following Table; by turning to which, the Reader, as often as he meets with any Mention of the Price of Wool in that long Period, will be able to ſee*

* 'It is enacted, That the Staples beyond the Sea, and 'on this Side, ordained by Kings in Times paſt, and the 'Pains thereupon provided, ſhall ceaſe. And that all Mer-'chants, Strangers and Privy, may go and come with their 'Merchandizes into *England*, after the Tenor of the great 'Charter (9 *Hen.* III. c. 30.) And that Writs thereupon 'ſhall be ſent to all Sheriffs of *England*, and to Mayors and 'Bailiffs of good Towns, where Need ſhall require.'

how much of our present Silver Coin that Price is equal to, and so to make the Comparison, in that respect, between former and latter Times.

One Shilling contained of fine Silver,

28 *Edw.* I.	Grains	264
18 *Edw.* III.		236
27 *Edw.* III.		213
9 *Hen.* V.		176
1 *Hen.* VI.		142
4 *Hen.* VI.		176
49 *Hen.* VI.		142
1 *Hen.* VIII.		118
34 *Hen.* VIII.		100
36 *Hen.* VIII.		60
37 *Hen.* VIII.		40
3 *Edw.* VI.		40
5 *Edw.* VI.		20
6 *Edw.* VI.		88
2 *Eliz.*		89
43 *Eliz.*		86

Locke, Vol. II. p. 88.

'And so it has remained to this Day. (*Mr.* Lowndes's *Extract from the Mint*, p. 69.)

CHAP. V.

An Abstract from Records, History, and the Statute Books, relating to the Manufacture, Trade and Taxes of England, *from the 6th to the 28th of* Edward III.

Rapin, p. 414. *Note* 1.

1. *A. D.* 1331. This Year the Art of weaving Woolen Cloth was brought from *Flanders* into *England* by *John Kemp*, to whom the King granted his Protection,

Protection, and at the ſame time invited over Fullers, Dyers, *&c.* * *Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. 4. p. 496.

2. *Petitions and Acts moved at the Parliament at* York, 8 *Edward* III. *Pet.* That Remedy may be had for the true making of Woolen Cloths according to the Aſſize. *Reſp.* The King will provide for the Execution of the Statute. *On the Backſide of the ſame Roll:* For that the Staple was ordained to endure at the King's Pleaſure, it is enacted that the ſame Staple ſhould be revoked, and that all Merchant Strangers may freely buy any Staple Wares, paying the due Cuſtom. *Pryn's Records, 8 Ed. III.*

* N° 1. 'Pro Joanne Kemp de Flandria, Textore Pannorum.' *Rymer*, tom. 4. p. 496.

1331. 'Cum Joannes Kemp de Flandria, Textor Pannorum Laneorum, infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ, cauſa 'Meſterii ſui inibi exercendi, & illos qui inde addiſcere 'voluerint inſtruendi & informandi, acceſſerit moraturus, '& quoſdam Homines & Servientes ac Apprenticios de 'Meſtero illo ſecum adduxerit.

'Suſcepimus ipſum Joannem, &c. prout in ejuſmodi Literis.

'Promittimus etiam Nos aliis Hominibus de Meſtero 'illo, ac Tinctoribus & Fullonibus venire volentibus de 'Partibus Tranſmarinis conſimiles Literas de Protectione, '&c.'

☞ It is generally underſtood, as if the People of *England* had been hitherto wholly unacquainted with the Arts of weaving Woolen Cloth, *&c.* And both this Note on *Rapin's* Hiſtory, and this Letter of Protection to *John Kemp*, favour ſuch an Opinion. But the Statute (a 9 *Hen.* III. c. 25.) ſhews that broad Cloth was made in *England* above 100 Years before. And the Note of Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke* b on that Statute tells us, that tho' it was ſmall in Compariſon of After-times, yet the firſt Beginning of the Woolen Manufacture in *England* was then ancient, beyond Remembrance, or Notice of Hiſtory. *So that from hence we are to date, not the firſt Riſe or Introduction, but the Increaſe and Improvement of that Manufacture in* England, *by the Protection and Encouragement granted to certain foreign Manufacturers.* Note alſo §. 2. of this Chapter, which ſhews further that the Woolen Manufacture was not a new thing in *England* at this Time.

a Chap. 4. §. 16.
b §. 16. *Note.*

3. *Merchant Strangers may buy and ſell within the Realm without Diſturbance* †. 9 Edw. III. c. 1.

Chron. pret. p. 75. 4. *A. D.* 1336 ‖. Plenty of Proviſions, Money ſcarce, being carried abroad, on Occaſion of foreign Wars. So that a fat Sheep gave but 6 *d.* at the moſt 8 *d.*

Rapin, p. 416. *Note* 4. *Upon the Occaſion of theſe Wars*, the Merchants of *England*, by Act of Parliament, were to pay 40 *s.* a Sack for all Wool tranſported, and Foreigners 3 *l. Knighton's Collect.* p. 2568.

Rymer, tom. 4. p. 757. *A. D.* 1337. *May* 24. A Licenſe to Merchants of *Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, *Antwerp*, *Bar-le-duc*, *Malines*, *Thievemont*, *Lyewes*, *Nivelle*, *Diſte*, *Herentals*, *Graven*, *Breda*, *Bergen ſour le Zoem*, and *Arſcot*, and other Villages, to buy as much Wool as was neceſſary to the Manufactures of each Place reſpectively, for half a Year; and ſo from one half Year to another, ſo long as the War ſhould laſt.

5. At a Parliament held about the Middle of *March* this Year, the principal Buſineſs was to ſettle the Woolen Trade.

† *The Act runs thus:* 'Our Lord the King deſiring the 'Profit of his People, by the Aſſent of his Prelates, *&c.* 'and by the Advice of his Council being there upon the 'ſaid Things diſcloſed to him, and found true, to the great 'Hurt of the ſaid Prelates, Earls, *&c.* and Oppreſſion of 'his Commons, hath ordained and eſtabliſhed, that all 'Merchants, Strangers, and Denizens, and all other, and 'every of them, of what Eſtate and Condition ſoever, that 'will buy and ſell whatever is vendible, at what Place ſo-'ever it be, within Franchiſe or without, may freely and 'without Interruption, *&c.*'

‖ In this Year 1336, we find two Manufacturers from *Brabant* ſettled at *York*, under the King's Protection for one Year, as follows:

Rymer, vol. 4. p. 723. 1336. 'Rex omnibus, &c. . . . . Sciatis quod cum 'Willielmus de Brabant & Hanckinus de Brabant Textores 'de Partibus *Brabantiæ* infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ ac-'ceſſerint, & in Civitate noſtra Eborûm converſentur, Offi-'cium ſuum inibi exercentes. . . . . Nos attendentes 'per ipſorum Induſtriam, ſi Officium ſuum infra idem Reg-'num noſtrum exerceant, Nobis & Subditis Noſtris Utili-'tatem & Commodum inde poſſe multipliciter evenire. '. . . . . Ac eo Pretextu Volentes ipſorum *Willielmi* & 'Hankini Tranquillitati proſpicere in hac Parte, ſuſcepimus 'ipſos, &c. . . . . In cujus, &c. per unum annum du-'raturas, &c.'

Trade. And it was enacted, That * No Wool of *English* Growth ſhould be tranſported beyond Sea; and that all foreign Cloth-makers ſhould be received, from whatever foreign Parts they came, and encouraged. It was alſo ordained, that none ſhould wear any Cloths made beyond Sea. 11 *Edward* III. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 †. *A. D.*

Rapin, p. 417. *Note* 2.

* The Words of the Act, as in the printed Statute Book, are, 'It ſhall be Felony to carry away any Wool out of the 'Realm, *until it be otherwiſe ordained.*' Which Words are far from implying a fixed Reſolution of prohibiting abſolutely, for ever, the Exportation of Wool; on the contrary, they only denote at the moſt a temporary Expedient or Revulſion in Favour of the Woolen Manufacture, then about to be enlarged in *England*, as well by a ſumptuary Law, reſtraining the Uſe of foreign Cloth, as by the Acceſſion of foreign Workmen, which this Expedient might be ſuppoſed to facilitate. It was only a Prohibition on the Part of the People, and which plainly the Crown might not only diſpenſe with (in virtue of the Writ [d] *Non obſtante*, much uſed in theſe Days, and long after) but which ſeemingly it was intended the Crown ſhould diſpenſe with, and accordingly did; for tho' it paſſed in the 11th of this Reign, yet in the 12th and 13th Years, the King did make Diſpenſations of that Statute in Conſideration of Money paid. (*See* Coke's *2d Inſtit. p.* 60.) See alſo *A. D.* 1338. This Statute was in the Month of *March*, and on the 3d of *February* following another Parliament was held, in which the Laity granted the King one half of all their Wool for the next Summer. At the ſame time he took the whole from the Clergy, making them pay nine Marks for every Sack of the beſt Wool. *Which nine Marks* per *Sack was equal to* 14 *s.* per *Stone of our preſent Money.* (See Chap. 4. *P. S.*)

[d] Ch. 30. §. 5.

† In this Year we find the following Protection granted to a Number of Manufacturers of the Province of *Zealand:*

Rymer, vol. 4. p. 751.

De Protectione pro Alienigenis Operariis Lanarum & Pannorum. . . . . 'Rex univerſis, &c. . . . Sciatis 'cum Leſtinus de Holland, Johannes de Hilford, Leſinus 'Neuhone, Willielmus Favehales, Gerardus Iſaac, Petrus 'Hundrepen, Bohdonus de Thorneck, Johannes de Over'nulle, Nicolaus Undrechapel, Johannes de Cratherine, 'Cornelius Huſs, Johannes de Semptilace, Johannes Biſhop, 'Cornelius Storthyn & Goſinus Cornhitſwait, ac quidam 'alii Operarii Lanarum & Pannorum, cum Hominibus & 'Servientibus ſuis de Partibus Selandiæ, infra Regnum no'ſtrum Angliæ, pro Lanis ibidem operandis, &c. in proxi-

'mo,

Rymer, tom. 5. p. 32. *A. D.* 1338. Pro Mercatoribus Brabantiæ. A Paſs for 2200 Sacks of Wool.

P. 44. De Conductu pro Lana Cardinalium. A ſafe Conduct for a certain Quantity of Wool to be exported to *Barbant*, pro Liberatione ſummi Pontificis & Cardinalium inde facienda,

P. 51. Pro Mercatoribus Brabantiæ. A Direction to the Admiral to afford the Merchants of *Brabant* a Convoy for their Wools.

P. 73. De Lana capienda, & cum omni Celeritate ad Antwerpiam tranſvehenda.

P. 80. De Intendendo ſuper Lanis tranſportandis.

Coke's 2d Inſtit. p. 60. *A. D.* 1339. A great Impoſition was ſet upon Wools; and it is called a great Wrong, [*meaning that it was not according to* Magna Charta, i. e. *by Authority of Parliament.*]

Pryn. 13 *Ed.* III. The Lords grant to the King the tenth Sheaf of all the Corn of their Demeſnes, except of their bound Tenants, and the tenth Fleece of Wool, and the tenth Lamb of their own Store, to be paid in two Years; and would that the great Wrong ſet upon Wool be revoked, and that this Grant turn not into a Cuſtom.

Demands of the Commons, That all Cuſtoms of Wool and Lead may be taken as it hath been (and not as lately enhaunced) with common Aſſent; and that if it be, Reſiſtance may be made.

For to help the Want of Money, it was thought good that every Merchant, for every Sack of Wool, ſhould bring in forty Shillings in Bullion to be ſtamped within the Realm.

Remembrances of the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter *in the Octaves of St.* Hilary.

The ſame Day the Commons offer to give the King 30,000 Sacks of Wool for his Relief, upon Condition expreſſed in a Pair of Indentures. The Lords ſend to the King to know his Pleaſure. The Lords granted that ſuch

' mo, ut accepimus, venturi. . . . . Nos Securitati ipſo-
' rum Operariorum, & omnium aliorum, infra Regnum
' noſtrum predictum, ex cauſa predicta, venire volentium,
' volentes providere, ſuſcepimus ipſos, &c.

ſuch of them, or of their Peers, as hold by a Barony, ſhould give the tenth of their Grain, Wool and Lamb, and of all their Demeſnes. For more ſpeed after long debating, the Commons grant to give preſently to the King 2500 Sacks of Wool, ſo as if the King liked the Conditions aforeſaid, the ſame ſhould run in Part of Payment; if not, they would freely give to the King.

6. It having been enacted, * that *Engliſh* Wool ſhould not be exported out of the Kingdom, but be made into Cloths within the King's Dominions, one *Thomas Blanket*, and ſome other Inhabitants at *Briſtol*, ſet up Looms in their own Houſes †. *Rymer's Fœdera.* *Rapin*, p. 419. *Note.*

7. *A Subſidy was granted to the King of Wools from* Eaſter *to* Pentecoſt *in reſpect of the Wars; for which the King granteth, that after that Time, he nor his Heirs would*

* See §. 5. *Note.*

† This Piece of Hiſtory will be beſt underſtood by the following public Act itſelf; whence it will appear that the ſame narrow monopoliſh Spirit, which gave Occaſion to ſeveral Laws in behalf of Merchant Strangers, made it neceſſary for the executive Power to interpoſe its Authority, to defend theſe new erected Looms from the vexatious Pretences of certain of the Inhabitants of thoſe Places, in which they had been fixed.

1339. 'De Ordinatione ſuper Inſtrumentis, pro Pannis texendis, erigendis. *Rymer*, vol. 5. p. 137.

'Rex Majori & Ballivis Villæ ſuæ Briſtollæ ſalutem.—— 'Cum nuper de Aſſenſu Prelatorum, &c. in Parliamento, '&c. Ordinatum fuiſſet, &c.——Jamque ex Parte *Thomæ Blanket*, & quorundam aliorum Burgenſium Villæ predictæ acceperimus, quod cum ipſi diverſa Inſtrumenta 'pro Pannis hujuſmodi texendis & faciendis in Domibus 'ſuis propriis fieri, &c. fecerint. —— Vos diverſas Pecuniæ ſummas ab eiſdem Thoma & aliis exigitis, & ea occaſione multipliciter inquietatis & gravatis, ut aſſerunt.

'Nos advertentes, &c. —— Vobis mandamus, quod 'ipſos Thomam & alios, Pannos hujuſmodi operari & facere volentes, Inſtrumenta pro Pannis hujuſmodi texendis '& faciendis, Domibus ſuis propriis, pro voluntate ſua 'erigi facere, & Operarios illos ibidem tenere & habere 'permittatis abſque Impedimento vel Calumnia, ſeu Exactione indebita inde facienda,

'Teſte, &c.'

would take more than the old Custom ‖. 14 Edw. III. c. 21.

Pryn. 14 *Ed.* III. Wednesday *after* Midlent-Sunday *they granted to the King the Ninth of their Grain, Wool and Lamb for two Years, on Condition the King would grant their Petitions contained in a Schedule.* Statute 2. c. 1.

8. They granted a second * time the Ninth of their Grain, Wool and Lamb, and many Devices made for the due answering the same. An Order taken, that the Subsidy of the next Year should be employed for the Payment of those Wools, and to be confirmed by the King's Letters Patents.

Every Sheriff by Writ shall cause some certain Merchants of every City and Town within their Bailywick to appear before the Council at a Day, and proclaim that no Person buy any Wools before the King be served; whereunto all Customers shall have an Eye.

It is enacted, That twenty thousand Sacks of Wool granted to the King shall be taken in whose Hands the same

Coke's 2d Instit. p. 60. ‖ 'But after this Time ended, the King entered into a 'new Device to get Money, *viz.* that by Agreement and 'Consent of the Merchants, the King was to have forty 'Shillings of a Sack of Wool; but hereof the Commons '(that in troth were to bear the Burden ‡, for the Mer-'chant will not be the Loser) complained in Parliament, 'for that the Grant of the Merchants did not bind the Com-'mons, and that the Customs might be taken according to 'the old Order, (which in the End was granted) and that 'no Grant should be made but by Parliament.'

‡ *But see* (§. 15.) *a Device to raise* 40*s. a Sack on Wool, without Loss to the Grower.*

Rapin, p. 420. *Note* 2. * 'During King *Edward's* Absence, *viz. July* 7. a Par-'liament met at *Westminster*, wherein the Lords and Com-'mons granted the Ninth of their Corn, Wool and Lambs, 'and the Clergy undertook to raise 20,000 Sacks of Wool 'for his Service. So that for every Sack of the best Sort 'the King should be answered six Pounds; for others five 'Pounds; and for the worst four Marks, besides his Custom 'of forty Shillings. *April* 23. a Parliament met at *West-*
Note 3. *minster*, which granted the King 30,000 Sacks of Wool, 'as a Compensation for the Ninth granted in one of the 'last Parliaments.'

ſame may be found, on Agreement to be made therefore on the two Payments of the Ninths †.

9. *Henry Gould le Better*, *Thomas Gray*, *William of Lancaſter*, and *John of Lutrington* take 1500 Sacks of Wool within the County of *York*, to pay for every Sack 4 *l.* 10 *s.* over and above 40 *s.* Cuſtom, within three Weeks.

Hardolf of Barto Merchant of *Hull*, and *Thomas Thurwitt* Merchant of *Beverley*, took 1000 Sacks of Wool: 500 of *Nottingham* at 4 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Sack, and 500 of *Derby* at 3 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* the Sack, over and above the 40 *s.* Cuſtom, to pay as before.

Thomas of Loveſhed, *William de Mallerſtrange*, and *William of Banbridge*, Merchants of *York*, do take 400 Sacks of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* at 4 Marks every Sack, to pay over and above the Cuſtom as aforeſaid, &c.

Walter de le Prieſt of *Melton-Mowbray*, and *Hugh Coskhead* Merchant of *Barto* upon *Humber*, have 500 Sacks of *Leiceſter* for ‡ eight Marks the Sack, 100 Sacks of *Rutland* for 4 *l.* 10 *s.* the Sack, over, &c. to pay as before. *Thomas Colls*, *Richard Weſton*, *Adam de le Hone*, and *John Retoun*, have of *Salop* 400 Sacks at 6 *l.* 6 *s.* 4 *d.* * 100 Sacks of Stuff ‖ at 5 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Sack, to pay, &c. over and above as before.

Writs ſent to every Sheriff to execute as before.

10. The

† This was not ſo ſatisfactory to the People, but that we ſhall find them conveying their Wool privately beyond Sea for better Security. (*See* §. 11.)

‡ A Sack was 26 Stone; and eight Marks for a Sack was ſomething more than 4 *s.* for a Stone; which four Shillings, as every Shilling then contained 264 [a] Grains of fine Silver, now but 86, was more than 12 *s.* of our preſent Money; beſides the Duty of 40 *s.* which made a Part in the Price of the Wool. [a] Ch. 4. P. S.

* This by the ſame way of reckoning, *viz.* the Quantity of Silver, was more than 14 *s.* *per* Stone of our preſent Money, which with the 40 *s.* Duty, brings it to near 20 *s.* a Stone of the ſame Money. If to this we add the Difference of the Value of Silver now, and then, the Price was equal to more than I chuſe to ſpeak of, and would exceed Belief, if it was not Matter of Record, ſo circumſtantiated that there can be no Miſtake in it. *I do not make this Remark,*

10. The Merchants of *Bard* and *Pernich*, upon the Payment of the Ninth in ſundry Counties there named, appoint to pay to ſundry of the King's Creditors beyond the Seas 28,695 *l.* 15 *s.* 2 *d.*

11. A Letter ſent from the Lords of Parliament to the King by Sir *William Truſſel*, containing the Grant of their Ninths, and their Policy of Wool for the preſent Shift [a]. The Poſtſcript requireth of the King to buy at *Sluice*, and other Parts of *Zealand*; for the greateſt Store of Wools were conveyed by Stealth [b], [therefore]

[a] Ch. 4. §. 13. *N.*

[b] §. 8. *N.*

12. *A. D.* 1340. (Saturday *in the Week of Penteceſt.*) 15 *Ed.* III. Becauſe the King ſhould before *Michaelmas* next tranſport twenty thouſand Sacks of Wool, it was provided that no Man, before that Time, ſhould paſs over any Wool, on Pain of treble Loſs, Life and Member *; That the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Sir *Robert Wake*, Sir *Robert Lodington*, by ſuch as have Knowledge of every County, may apportion Wool granted to the King, according to the Aſſeſſment of the Fifteenth, late made in every County; who did ſo.

13. The

mark, as imagining a Poſſibility of bringing Engliſh *Wool again to its ancient Eſtimation, altho' I do think it long has been, and now is depreſſed below its natural Value. I have ſaid thus much, in order to have it obſerved of what Price it was at this Time, compared with later Days: to account exactly for the whole Difference, is perhaps no eaſy Task.*

‖ By the Term *Stuff*, I imagine, is to be underſtood Skin Wool.

* How often and grievouſly hath this Statute, of 27 *Edward* III. c. 3. been miſrepreſented? This Penalty for exporting Wool in this Reign has frequently been cited, as originally deviſed, for no other End, than to keep the Wool of *England* at Home, in order to its being manufactured within the Kingdom; whereas this Statute particularly was made only with the View, 1ſt, to ſecure to the King his 20,000 Sacks; 2dly, to procure him a more ready Market for it beyond Sea at a better Price. *And here note a Difference between theſe extraordinary Grants and Devices, and the Subſidies on Wool, which will occur ſo frequently hereafter; the former was in the Nature of a Loan, and as a Land-Tax, general; the latter will appear to be particular, only upon Wool exported.* (See §. 34. *Edw.* III. c. 1. Ch. 7. §. 1. *Note.* Ch. 8. §. 2, 10, 15, 18, 25, 33.)

§. 35.

[c] §. 13.

13. The particular Rates * of every County for Wool granted to the King, were delivered into the *Chancery* by Roll entered, and thereupon Commissions made for gathering the same.

14. It is enacted, That whoso transporteth Wool out of the Realm, shall bring in for every Sack carried forth, four Nobles in † Bullion, and so all Merchandize according to the Rate of a Sack. 17 *Ed.* III.

15. To increase the Goodness of Money, the Prices of Wool for three Years are enhanced; the Buyers under to forfeit the same [a]; and the King to have forty Shillings for every Sack over the old Custom; in Consideration of which Subsidy, the King promiseth that he will neither pardon nor license any Man to buy any Wool contrary to the Statute [b] aforesaid. [a] §. 7. *Note.* [b] §. 7. *Note.*

16. *Petitions of the Commons, with the King's Answer:* That Customs of Wool may be at half a Mark, according to the old Order, and the forty Shillings revoked, seeing the same was the Grant of the Merchants, which bindeth not the Commons. *Answer.* It cannot be hurtful to the Commons, sith upon their Price set, Order was, that no Man should buy under ‡. *On the Back-side of the Roll are contained sundry Articles of Advice given by the Merchants.* To raise 40 *s.* in every Sack of Wool, and to establish the Staple rather in *England* than beyond the Seas. *And there you may see the strange Practice for abusing the Staple.*

17. *That*

* A. D. 1341. 'De Lanis pro Deliberatione Comitis Derbiæ, liberandis. 'Captores, &c. in Com. Leyc. 34 Sarplar. tribus Saccis & 22 Petris.' *Rymer*, tom. 5. p. 248.

† Not by way of Tax, but to be *stamped* or *coined* [c] within the Realm, to *help* or *prevent the Want of Money.* [c] §. 5. 13 *Ed.* III.

‡ Had it been true, even at this Time, what has since been vulgarly conceived, that Foreigners could not make Cloth without *English* Wool, the 40 *s.* a Sack imposed under this Device, had been a Tax upon Foreigners, and not upon the *English* Landholder. But we see that the Commons had a very different Notion, and were sensible that the Subsidy even on Wool exported, however disguised or contrived, was nevertheless a Burden upon the Subject, as taking so much from the Grower in the Price of his Wool.

[c] §. 13, 15. 17. *That the Ordinances* [c] *made before this Time, upon taking of Sorts of Wool in every County, be annulled and defeated, and that every Man, as well Privy as Stranger,* [d] §. 15. *may buy Wools, according as they may agree* [d] *with the Seller, as they were wont to do before the ſaid Ordinances, and that the Sea be open to all manner of Merchants.* 18 Edw. III. c. 3.

Pryn. 20 *Ed.* III. 18. The Writ of Proclamation for the free buying of Wools.

19. The Commons being ask'd what Aid they will grant to the King, declare the ſundry particular former Aids, the Impoſition of forty Shillings Cuſtom of Wool extorted from them againſt Law; notwithſtanding they grant, *&c. Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers:* That forty Shillings Subſidy of every Sack of Wool may ceaſe. *Anſw.* The King muſt firſt therein be moved.

21 *Ed.* III. 20. *Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers:* Whereas the Staple of Wool which is holden at *Bruges* in *Flanders* hath uſed to be free, ſo as all Merchants might there freely buy Merchandizes, and carry the ſame from thence whither they liſt, by Land or Sea; and now the ſame Freedom is reſtrained, ſo as none can freely buy and carry away from thence, according to the ancient Uſage with them of *Flanders* and *Brabant*. And they of *Brabant* cannot bring the Wools bought in the Staple out of the Town of *Bruges*, without Sureties in what Town of *Brabant* thoſe Wools ſhall be uttered; whereby the Price * of Wool is much abaſed. Alſo the three good Towns

* It may be gathered from this Article, that *Bruges* was an appointed Staple or Market beyond Sea for *Engliſh* Wools; which Market uſed to be free, not only to the Inhabitants themſelves, and thoſe within certain Diſtricts, but to as many as thought fit to repair thither in order to buy or ſell that Commodity. But the People of *Gant*, *Bruges* and *Ipre* wiſely collecting, that if they could be the ſole Purchaſers of Wool, and the only Makers of Cloth in thoſe Parts, they ſhould have it in their Power to buy the one ſo much cheaper, and to ſell the other ſo much dearer, had accordingly put this monopoliſh Deſign in Execution; which ſo far ſucceeded, as to give juſt Occaſion for this Complaint to the King in Parliament, from the Commons of *England* about it, who were too ſenſible of the Grievance, to ſuffer patiently, in any Shape, a Monopoly againſt them-

Towns of *Flanders*, *Gant*, *Bruges*, *Ipre*, will not ſuffer the ſmall Towns, which were wont to buy great Quantities of Wools, to make Cloth, but do deſtroy their Inſtruments, to the Abaſement likewiſe of the Price of Wools; for theſe Matters may it pleaſe the Parliament to provide a Remedy. *Anſw.* The King will that the Ordinance of the Staple ſhall be viewed, and that *Thomas Melchburn*, with whom the Patent touching that Ordinance doth remain, be called to bring the ſame with him; and that ſome Merchants of the Country, who beſt underſtand this Matter, and the King by the Advice of his Council will provide Remedy.

21. Whereas in a Council held by *Lionel* the King's Son, the Guardian of *England*, it was in the 21ſt Year of the King ordered, without the Commons, that for keeping of the Realm, and ſafe Conducts of the Ships, ſhould be taken upon every Sack of Wool paſſing the Seas, two Shillings; upon, *&c.* —— and this Charge to continue until *Michaelmas* next coming; which Charge is yet demanded, That the King will be pleaſed that the ſame Charge may be let fall, and to write to his Collectors thereof, that it ceaſe. *Anſw.* All Charges ſuppoſed in this Article are laid down, except two Shillings upon the Sack, which is to endure until *Eaſter* next; and foraſmuch as theſe Charges were ordained for the ſafe Conduct of Merchandizes into the Realm, and forth to foreign Parts, upon which Conduct the King has ſpent much, which cannot before *Michaelmas* well be levied; it ſeemeth that the levying it for ſo ſmall a time to come ſhould not be grievous.

22. That all Men may freely paſs Wool over the Sea at their Pleaſure, paying the ancient Cuſtom of half a Mark: which Thing was ordained by the King's Charter. *Anſw.* That Subſidy was granted for a Time yet enduring; within which Time, the King will adviſe with his Council what ſhall be beſt to be done therein for the Good of his People.

23. That the new Cuſtom lately ſet, *viz.* upon every Cloth carried forth by *Engliſh* Merchants 14 *d.* and by Strangers 21 *d.* and upon every worſted Cloth 1 *d.* and

themſelves, or any other Meaſure tending to abate the Price of their Wool.

of Strangers 1 *d. ob.* and of every *Litt* 10 *d.* and of Strangers 15 *d.* may be taken away *. *Anſw.* The King, Prelates, Counts, and *autres Gents*, will that the Cuſtom ſhall ſtand; for it is good Reaſon that ſuch a Profit be taken of Cloths wrought within the Realm, and carried forth, as of Wools of the Land, rateable the Cloth, as the Sack.

24. Whereas it hath been ordained, That all Men may paſs freely with their Wools, and other Merchandize; certain Merchants that have of the King the Cuſtom and Subſidy, for a certain Sum yearly, by Colour of a Bargain or Purchaſe, which they have made of the King's Wools, will ſuffer no Man to paſs over Wools, except they pay two Marks for a Sack of Wool above the Cuſtom and Subſidy, to the great Damage of the People, and Abaſement of the Price of Wools; whereof they deſire Remedy, and that the Merchants may anſwer in this Parliament for ſuch their Outrage. *Anſw.* Let the Merchants be called into Parliament and anſwer.

25. The poor Merchants ſhew, That whereas Wools
[c] §. 8, 13. were taken at *Dodraghe* [c] to the King's Uſe; for which by Parliament Allowance was made to the Merchants for their Debts out of the Subſidy and Cuſtom granted to the King, *viz.* 20 *s.* for every Sack carried over Sea. And whereas a great Part of the rich Merchants are ſatisfied of the Subſidy and Cuſtom aforeſaid, and the poor Merchants yet behind of that which to them belongeth, by reaſon that the rich Merchants have ſued to the King, that they, and no other, *puiſſent a chatre les dits debts poures Merchants* ——— and do take Allowance of the King, and pay little to the poor Merchants, but at their own Will; ſo as the rich Merchants are ſatisfied, and the Poor undone: that therefore the King will pay them Part of their Debts, or make Aſſignment to them of Part thereof, and they will loſe to the King the other Part of their ſaid Debt; or that the King will make to them ſuch Allowance, as he made to the rich Merchants. *Anſw.* The King is pleaſed, that the poor Merchants that are not ſatisfied, ſhall ſhew to the Treaſurer their Obliga-

* *Here note*, that but ſixteen Years had paſſed from 6 *Edw.* III. (See §. 1, 2. Chap. 6. *Note.*)

Obligations and Patents, whereof the Treaſurer ſhall inform the King; and he by Advice will take Order that *Gree* be made unto them as ſoon as he well may.

26. Whereas divers Aids have been granted to the King, to the Intent the ſame ſhould be wholly to his Profit; divers Merchants by Confederacy among themſelves have colourably and covertly by way of Uſury bargained with the King, and have impoſed upon theſe Goods great Sums, *viz.* upon every Sack of Wool 23 *s.* 4 *d.* — Alſo after their Bargain, at their Suit, there hath been great Stay and forbidding that no *Engliſh* Wool may paſs over Sea, whereby the King hath loſt his Subſidy and Cuſtom to as much as they made * *Chieveſance*; by reaſon of which Stay the Commons could not ſell their Wools to pay their Fifteens, *&c.* And further, ſome of the Collectors and their Deputies, in gathering the ſaid Wools, have uſed great Extortion upon the People by falſe Weights. Wherefore they pray the Particulars may be examined in Parliament. *Anſw.* The King will appoint ſome of the Sages of his Council to hear and determine the Things contained in this Article.

27. Whereas it was ordained, that all that would paſs with Wools to the Staple, ſhould pay 12 *d.* upon every Sack for ſafe Conduct; and certain Merchants undertook for the ſame, and ſafely to conduct the Merchants to the Staple, and yet have not, nor will not perform that Contract, and yet took the ſaid 12 *d.* on a Sack; whereby many Merchants have loſt their Lives, Wools,

* '*Chieveſance* or *Chievance*, according to *Bracton*, ſignifies a Tribute by the Head, or a kind of Poll-Money anciently paid by ſuch as held Lands in Villainage, to their Lords.

'The Word alſo ſeems to have been uſed for a Sum of Money yearly given to a Man of Power for his Patronage and Protection.' *Chambers's Dictionary.*

So that a particular illicit Action, injurious to the Subject and the State, ſeems to be denoted here under a borrowed Term'; *and hence* [I ſuppoſe] 'Cheviſance in our [*later*] Statutes is often mentioned, and moſt commonly uſed for an unlawful [*uſurious*] Bargain or Contract. 37 *Hen.* VIII. *c.* 9. 13 *Eliz. c.* 5, 8. 21 *Ja.* I. *c.* 17. 12 *Car.* II. *c.* 13. Jacob's *Law Dictionary.* ' Ch. 7. § 18.

&c. That they which undertook the Conduct, may be made come into this preſent Parliament, to make *Gree* to the Merchants, who by their Defaults have loſt their Goods, and to anſwer, &c. *Anſw.* Let Perſons and Places be aſſigned for hearing Plaints of all which will complain of the ſaid Merchants, to the End Right and Reaſon may be fully done to the Plaintiffs *.

22 *Ed.* III. 28. They ſhew the great Charges laid upon the Commons. —The Subſidy of Wool amounting to *threeſcore thouſand Pounds* yearly, and yet without Law, the Reſtraint of paſſing over Wool.

Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers: That all Wool, &c. may freely paſs without any Loans or other Subſidies over the due Cuſtoms. *Anſw.* The Paſſage ſhall be free, ſaving to the King his Due.

§. 5. That the Order § made, that all Merchants for every
13 *Ed.* III. Sack of Wool ſhould bring in two Marks of Bullion, may be repealed; for the carrying over of Bullion is forbidden in *Flanders*. *Anſw.* The King will learn the Truth of the Ambaſſador here.

It is agreed, that the Cuſtomers at *Eaſter* next, ſtay the Receipt of two Shillings of every Sack of Wool †.

29. *Petitions*

* 'The important Town of *Calais*, after a Year's Siege,
Rapin, p. 426. 'became ſubject about this Time to the *Engliſh*. A few 'Days after the King had made his publick Entry into this 'Town, he turned out all the Inhabitants, in order to 'people it with *Engliſh*. Probably this Precaution was the 'Means of *England*'s keeping that Place 200 Years.'

Ibid. † 'About this Time, a terrible Plague raging in *Aſia* 'and Part of *Europe*, ſpread itſelf into *France*, and from 'thence into *England*, where it made ſuch havock, that 'one half of the Nation was ſwept away. *London* eſpeci-'ally felt the Effects of its Fury.

Chron. pret. p. 76. 'Knighton ſays, that in the Peſtilence things were ſold 'for almoſt nothing. A fat Mutton at 4 *d.* *A Stone of* 'Wool at 9 d. The Hiſtorian ſays upon this Matter, *Erat* 'leve Pretium cunctis præ mortis timore, p. 2599. They 'were not only afraid of the Cattle's dying, but of their 'own; for otherwiſe Wool need not have been ſo cheap.'

But this learned Writer ſeems not to have conſidered, that a Dread, in Foreigners, of receiving the Infection along with the Wool, ſo entirely ſtagnated all Trade, that it is rather to be wonder'd at, that Wool gave any Price at all, than that it was ſo low at this Juncture.

29. *Petitions of the Commons with their Answers:* That the Subsidy of Wool, *viz.* of every Sack may cease. *Answ.* The same was granted to the King for a Time yet enduring. *On the Backside of the Roll:* The Writ of Proclamation for the true making of Woolen Cloths. 25 *Ed.* III.

30. *The Aulnager shall be sworn to do his Duty: the Penalty if he offends.* 25 Edw. III. St. 4. c. 1.*

Merchant Strangers may buy and sell without Disturbance. Cap. 2.†

* This Statute enacts, 'That all Cloths vendible shall be 'measured by the King's Aulnager or his Deputy. And 'all Cloths which shall be found of less Measure by a Yard, 'than of the Assize appointed by the Statute, shall without 'defoiling Cloths be forfeited and arrested to the King, and 'delivered by the Aulnager to the King's Wardrobe by 'Indenture. Which Aulnager shall be sworn to do his Of-'fice well, upon Pain of Imprisonment for one Year, (and 'to be fined at the King's Pleasure) and Loss of his Office 'for ever. And he shall answer as well for his Deputies, 'as for himself. And if any Buyer of such Cloths shall 'prove that the Aulnager hath done any Fraud or Deceit 'in his Office, he shall be entitled to one half of the For-'feiture incurred. He may also measure the Cloth after he 'he hath agreed for, and before he hath paid for it; and 'in case it be proved to be defective, he may sue and re-'cover, &c. both of the Aulnager and Vender.'

N. B. *The Office of Aulnager is very ancient.* In the Time of *Edw.* I. 'Perout *le Taylour*, who held the Office 'of Aulnager of Cloth in the several Fairs of the Realm, 'having forfeited it; the King by Writ of Privy-Seal com-'manded the Treasurer to let *Pieres de Edelmeton* have it, 'if he was fit for it. And a Writ was made out *Teste The-'saurario*, whereby the King committed the Custody of 'the Alnage and Assize of Cloth throughout *England*, du-'ring the King's Pleasure, to the said *Pieres de Edelmeton*, 'who took the Oath for that Office before the Treasurer 'and Barons.' *Madox*, p. 538.

† This is a fifth of the Kind, with a *non obstante* of any Grants or Privileges to the *City of London*; 'for that such 'had been found to be to the common Prejudice of the 'King and People.'

* *Auncel Weight shall be put out, and weighing shall be by equal Balance.* Stat. 5, c. 9.

Pryn. 31. The Commons by whole Assent grant the King
27 *Ed.* III. the Subsidies of three Years.

Petitions, &c. That the King will revoke the Office of Aulnage, and take three Pence of every Cloth. *Answ.* Let the Commons talk with the Chancellor and Treasurer, to the end good Recompence may be made for the said Aulnage.

32. *The Aulnagers Fee for every Cloth sold. Cloths shall be sealed before they be put to Sale.* † *A Subsidy granted to the King of every Cloth sold.* 27 Edw. III. c. 4.

33. That

* 'Auncel, quasi *Handsal Weight*, an ancient kind of 'Balance, consisting of Scales hanging on Hooks fastened 'at each End of a Beam or Staff, which a Man lifts up on 'his Hand or Forefinger, and so discovers the Equality or 'Difference between the Weight and the Thing weighed.' *Chambers's Dictionary. This* Manner of weighing *was, we*
‡ Ch. 11. *perceive, by a Beam without a Balance fixed in the Center;*
§. 8. *Note. so that resting it, whether on the Hand or Finger, or otherwise, a little nearer than the Center, to the Weight, or to the Thing weighed, made a very considerable Difference, more or less than the true Weight.*

The Act says, 'Whereas great Damage and Deceit is 'done to the People, for that divers Merchants use to buy 'and weigh Wools, *&c.* by a Weight which is called *Auncel*, the same shall be wholly put out, and the Balance 'used instead thereof: so that a Sack of Wool weigh but '26 Stones, the Stone 14 *lib.* and the Weight according 'to the Standard of the *Exchequer*.'

† 'Whereas the great Men and Commons have shewed 'to our Lord the King, how divers Merchants, as well 'Foreigners as Denizens, have withdrawn them, and yet 'do withdraw them to come with Cloths into *England*, to 'the great Damage of the King and all his People, because 'that the King's Aulnager surmiseth to the Merchants 'Strangers that their Cloths be not of Assize. And where-'as the same have been arrested as forfeit, *&c.* they have 'prayed to have released and put out such Forfeitures, in 'Ease of his People, for a convenient Recompence to be 'made to him of the other Party: Our Lord the King wil-'leth and granteth, that there shall be no Cloths forfeit, 'altho' they be not of the same Assize; but the King's

'Aulnager

33. That the Staple * may be appointed at *Worceſter*, *Nottingham*, *Hull*, *St. Botolph's*, *Stamford*, *Lyn*, *Ipſwich*, Pryn. 27 Ed. III.

'Aulnager ſhall meaſure the Cloth, and mark the ſame; 'by which Mark a Man may know how much the Cloth 'containeth. His Fee of the Seller ſhall be, for every ſuch 'Cloth as is not of Aſſize, an Half-penny; and for every 'half Cloth, a Farthing; nothing for leſs than half a Cloth; 'nor any thing but for Cloths expoſed to Sale. And for 'this the Lords and Commons have granted to the King a 'Subſidy for every Cloth to be ſold, over the Cuſtoms 'thereof due, *viz.* _____ with Proviſo that Cloths put 'to Sale before they be ſealed ſhall be forfeit.' *Here note, That the Act*, 11 Edw. III. c. 3. *againſt Cloths made beyond Sea, appears no more to have continued in Force, than that of the ſame Year* (c. 1.) *againſt carrying Wool out of the Realm*, (ſee §. 5.) *which Act* (11 Edw. III. c. 3.) *as it does not appear to have been expreſsly repealed, I therefore ſuppoſe to have been ſuperſeded in general Words by the ſeveral Statutes made in Favour of Merchant Strangers. In this Act expreſs Mention is made of foreign Merchants forbearing to bring Cloth into the Kingdom, not becauſe it had been prohibited*, (11 Edw. III.) *but becauſe the Aulnagers Office was a Grievance to them. And this Forbearance to bring in Cloth, it is further ſaid, was to the Damage of the King, and of all his People. But all this is to be conſidered as, what it is, the Preamble to the Act for giving the King a Subſidy on all Cloths, which was the main Intention of it. For there was not only much Cloth made in* England *at this Time, but probably more exported than was brought into the Kingdom.* (See Chap. 6.) *Only it ſeems as if the Nation had not yet arrived to the Art of making the fineſt Cloths; or however not in ſufficient Number, according to the Conſumption of thoſe Times.*

* 'Staple ſignifies primarily a Market or publick Place, 'whither Merchants, &c. are obliged to carry their Goods 'to be bought by the People. It ſignifies alſo a City or 'Town, where Merchants jointly agree (or where by Law 'it is appointed) to carry certain Commodities (thence 'called Staple Commodities) in order to be ſold by the 'Great. The Staple Commodities of *England* were chief-'ly Wool, Leather, Cloth, Tin, Lead, &c. Though by 'Staple-Goods is now meant any proper ſaleable Commo-'dities, not eaſily ſubject to periſh. *Chamb.* Dict.

'The Staple for the *Engliſh* Wools, &c. had hitherto 'been chiefly in *Flanders*. But from this Time the *Flem-'ings* becoming diſengaged from the Intereſts of *England*, 'it was the Cauſe that the Staple of the *Engliſh* Wools, *Rapin*, p. 428.

wich, and *Canterbury*. *Anſw.* At *Canterbury* only one to be in Honour of St. *Thomas*.

That the Lords and Commons may by *Eaſter* following appoint out three Sorts of Wool, which then ſhall begin. *Anſw.* The King will be adviſed.

34. *A Statute* * *of Staple.* 27 Edw. III.

Where the Staple for England, Wales, *and* Ireland *ſhall be kept. Whither Merchandizes of the Staple ſhall be carried, and what Cuſtom ſhall be paid for them* †. c. 1.

35. *All*

'*&c.* was removed into *England*, to their great Damage, 'but to the Benefit of the *Engliſh*.'

* This the Preamble to a famous Statute, of 28 Chapters, which recites the Damage to the King and his People, by the Staple of Wools, Leather, and Woolfels having been holden out of the Realm, and the great Profits from holding the ſame within the Realm, and not elſewhere.

† This firſt Chapter directs, 'That the Staple of Wools, 'Leather, Woolfels and Lead, ſhall be perpetually holden 'for *England*, *viz.* at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, *York*, *Lincoln*, '*Norwich*, *Weſtminſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chicheſter*, *Wincheſter*, '*Exeter* and *Briſtow*. For *Wales*, at *Kaermerdyn*. And 'for *Ireland*, at *Devylin*, *Waterford*, *Cork* and *Drogheda*, 'and not elſewhere. And that all the ſaid Wools, as well 'old as new, Woolfels, Leather, and Lead, *which ſhall* ☞ '*be carried out of the ſaid Realm and Lands*, ſhall be firſt 'brought to the ſaid Staples, and there betwixt Merchant 'and Merchant, or others, be lawfully weighed by the 'Standard. And every Sack or Sarplar of the ſaid Wools, 'ſo weighed, be ſealed under the Seal of the Mayor of the 'Staple. And that all Wools ſo weighed and ſealed at the 'Staple of *York*, *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, *Weſtminſter*, *Canter-*'*bury* and *Wincheſter*, (the Cuſtoms of the Staple thereof 'paid) ſhall be witneſſed by Bill ſealed with the Seal of the 'Mayor of the Staple, and brought to the Ports underwrit-'ten, that is to ſay, from *York* to *Hull*, from *Lincoln* to 'St. *Botolph* [*Boſton*] from *Norwich* to great *Yarmouth*, 'from *Weſtminſter* to *London*, from *Canterbury* to *Sandwich*, 'and from *Wincheſter* to *Southampton*. And there the ſaid 'Wools ſhall another time be weighed by our Cuſtomers 'aſſigned in the ſaid Ports. And all the Wools brought to 'the Ports of *Newcaſtle*, *Chicheſter*, *Exeter*, *Briſtow*, *Ka-*'*ermerdyn*, *Devylin*, *Waterford*, *Cork* and *Drogheda*, where 'the other Staples be holden, ſhall be but once weighed by 'the Standard, between Merchant and Merchant, or others, 'in Preſence of our Cuſtomers there. And an Indenture

'ſhall

35. *All Perſons may buy Wool*, &c. *ſo that they bring them to the Staple. It ſhall be Felony for an* Engliſh, Welſh, *or* Iriſh *Merchant to tranſport Wool*, &c. *c.* 3. *

36. *The*

ſhall be made between the Mayor of the Staple being in the Port of the Sea, and our Cuſtomers there, of all Wool ſo weighed, which ſhall come to the ſaid Staples to paſs there. And the ſaid Wools cuſtomed and cocketed, and the Cuſtom thereof duly paid to our Cuſtomers in all the ſaid Ports, that is to ſay, of Denizens, for the Time they have paſſed, half a Mark of a Sack of Wool. Of Aliens, ten Shillings. Then the ſaid *ſhall be carried by Merchant Strangers*, which have bought the ſame, and not by *Engliſhmen*, *Welſhmen*, nor *Iriſhmen*, to the Parts beyond Sea.'

* No Merchant, *Engliſh*, *Welſh*, nor *Iriſh*, ſhall carry any Manner of Wools, Leather, Woolfels, or Lead, out of the ſaid Realm or Lands, upon the Pain of Life and Member, and of Forfeiture of the ſaid Merchandizes, and of all their other Goods and Chattels, and of Forfeiture of all their Lands and Tenements to the chief Lords. There ſhall be no Colluſion or Confederacy between Merchant Strangers and Denizens, in Fraud or Deceit of this Ordinance, upon the ſame Pains and Penalties.'

N. B. The Penalties here denounced on Denizens offending by the Tranſportation of Wool, is in Part the ſame with thoſe of 15 *Edw.* III. (See §. 12.) And this being a printed Statute, which the other is not, is probably what is commonly intended to be referred to by thoſe, who have quoted, as an Inſtance of the great Wiſdom of this Reign, the ſtrict Meaſures taken for preventing abſolutely the Exportation of Wool (as they would have it to be underſtood) whereas nothing was leſs intended by this Statute; the ſole Deſign thereof being, *to encourage Strangers to come and tranſport Wool*, &c. by prohibiting Denizens from doing the like upon any Terms. The Reaſon of this Policy, or however the Wiſdom of it, does not ſo clearly appear. But it ſeems to have been meant as an Inducement to Merchant Strangers to come and trade with the King's Subjects; concerning which, upon the Removal of the Staple into *England* and *Ireland*, there appears to have been ſome Doubt and Solicitude; for as the firſt Chapter of theſe Inſtitutes removes the Staple, and fixes it in its ſeveral appointed Places; ſo the ſecond Chapter, in order, as is there expreſſed, 'to repleniſh the Land with Money and Plate, Gold and Silver,

36. *The Penalty of ſelling Wool to a* Scotiſh *Man, to be carried into* Scotland. *c.* 4. *

Pryn. 37. It is enacted, That all the Articles of the Staple
27 *Ed.* III. ſhall be proclaimed throughout the Realm, and confirmed by the next Parliament.

28 *Ed.* III. 38. It is enacted by common Aſſent, That all the Ordinances made in the laſt great Council aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, touching the *Staple*, be confirmed to continue *for ever* †.

CHAP.

* Silver, and Merchandizes of other Lands; and to give *Courage* to Merchant Strangers to come with their Wares, *&c.* into the Realm, gives a ſafe Conduct, and all poſſible Aſſurance of *Protection*, &c. to them.'

* 'No Merchant, Privy, nor Stranger, nor other, ſhall carry out of our Realm of *England*, *Wools*, Leather, or Woolfels, to *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, nor elſewhere, nor into *Scotland*. Nor ſhall any Man, of what Condition ſoever, ſell his Wools, *&c.* to any Man of *Scotland*, or to any other to carry into *Scotland*, upon the like Pains and Forfeitures contained in the third Article aforeſaid.' (*See* c. 3.)

The firſt and moſt apparent Reaſon of thus prohibiting the Carriage of Wool, &c. *into* Scotland, *was, the almoſt conſtant State of Enmity between the two Kingdoms, and eſpecially at this Time*; David *King of* Scotland *being then a Priſoner in* England. (*See* c. 8. §. 2.)

† But obſerve the Inſtability of theſe Ordinances. *Ch.* 7, *&c.*

CHAP. VI.

The State or Balance of the Engliſh *Trade in the 28th Year of* Edward III. *as ſaid to be found upon Record in the* Exchequer, *with Remarks thereon.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
EXP. One and thirty thouſand ſix hundred fifty-one Sacks and a half of Wool, at ſix Pounds Value each Sack, amount to	189,909	00	0
Three thouſand thirty-ſix hundred ſixty-five Felts, at 40 *s.* Value, each hundred at ſix ſcore, amount to	6073	01	8
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to	81,624	01	3
Fourteen Laſt, ſeventeen Dicker and five Hides of Leather, after ſix Pounds Value the Laſt,	89	05	0
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to	6	17	6
Four thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy-four Cloths and an half, after 40 *s.* Value the Cloth, is	9,549	00	0
Eight thouſand ſixty-one Pieces and an half of Worſted *, after 16 *s.* 8 *d.* Value the Piece, is	6,717	18	4
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to	215	13	7
Summa of the out-carried Commodities in Value and Cuſtom	294,184	17	7

Imp.

* *Worſted*, a Stuff of Wool ſo named from a Town in *Norfolk*, where this Species of Goods was firſt made.

Camden's Britannia, 1695. p. 389. n. 15.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Imp. One thouſand eight hundred thirty-two Cloths, after ſix Pounds Value the Cloth	10,992	00	00
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to	91	12	00
Three hundred ninety-ſeven Quintals and three quarters of Wax, after the Value of 40*s.* the Hundred or Quintal	795	10	00
Whereof the Cuſtom is	19	17	00
One thouſand eight hundred twenty-nine Tons and a half of Wine, after 40*s.* Value *per* Ton,	3,659	00	00
Whereof the Cuſtom is	182	00	00
Linen Cloth, Mercery and Grocery Wares, and all other Manner of Merchandize,	22,943	06	10
Whereof the Cuſtom is	285	18	03
Summa of the inbrought Commodities, in Value and Cuſtom, is	38,970	13	08
Summa of the Inpluſage of the outcarried, above the in-brought Commodities, amounteth to *	255,214	13	08

* Altho' there is no avouching this Account to be genuine, nor much Reaſon to ſuſpect its being a Forgery, yet is it plainly imperfect, as wanting the two great Articles of Tin and Lead. It is taken from a Tract publiſhed *an.* 1623. entitled, *The Circle of Commerce*[t]. By *Edward Miſſelden*, Merchant. Who ſays he has it from an ancient Manuſcript of a Merchant; which Manuſcript was at that Time well known, and of good Authority, among Merchants. It has the Appearance of Antiquity, and ſhews the Frugality of thoſe Times, and in Conſequence thereof, an extraordinary Balance in favour of the Nation; ſuch, I apprehend, comparatively, as no later Times can boaſt of.

[t] P. 119, 120.

This Year (*according to common Account*) was but the twenty-ſecond, ſince the Woolen Manufacture was firſt ſet up in *England*. And tho' it does not appear, that the *Engliſh* had then arrived to the making of the beſt and higheſt priced Cloths, yet were exported this Year (*according*

ing to this Account) Cloths of a lower Price, to a greater Value, by near one Third, than all the finer Cloths, imported that ſame Year, amounted to: which is utterly improbable, had not the Woolen Manufacture in *England* been of a much longer ſtanding than is generally repreſented. Again, the Value of Wool exported in this Year, appears to be above eight times as much as both Imports and Exports of Woolen Goods put together. And yet we ſhall frequently find this Reign celebrated, not only for firſt erecting the Woolen Manufacture in the Kingdom, as if no ſuch thing had been practiſed before; which is not true; but (which is equally falſe) for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, by a fixed ſtanding Policy, from the eleventh Year of this King; by which the Woolen Manufacture had been firſt eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom. Theſe are Inſtances of falſe Hiſtory generally current upon this Subject, whereon great Streſs has been laid, and which therefore are needful to be corrected.

N. B. The Wool, Woolfels, Cloths and Worſteds exported this Year, with their Cuſtoms reſpectively, amounted to £294,088 14 8; which, conſidering that the Shilling then contained 213 Grains, was nearly equal to [h] £737,021 16 11 of the preſent Silver Coin of *Great Britain*.

[h] Chap. 4. *P. S.*

CHAP. VII.

From 28 Edward III. *to the End of his Reign.*

1. A. D. 1354. The *Scots* having taken *Berwick* by Surprize, a Parliament was called, who knowing the Neceſſity of recovering *Berwick*, and the King's Want of Money to continue the War with *France*, granted * him fifty Shillings for every Sack of Wool *ſold in*

* Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in his Prerogative of Parliament, ſays, it was only for every Sack of Wool *tranſported* for ſix Years; by which Grant the King received a thouſand Marks a Day. *Remains*, 1702. p. 252.

Pry-

in the Kingdom. It is ſaid this Subſidy amounted to more than 350,000 Marks a Year, ſo conſiderable was the Woolen Trade in thoſe Days.

2. *No Wool ſhall be bought by Fraud to abate the Price thereof. Weights ſhall be ſent to all Shires.* 31 Edw. III. c. 2. * (See Chap. 11. §. 8. Note.)

What Refuſe ſhall be made of Wool. All Wools, &c. *ſhall be brought to the Staple.* Cap. 8. †

The

Pryn. 29 *Ed.* III. *Pryn*, in his Abridgment of Records, ſays, the Lords and Commons, after ſhort Conference, granted to the King, for ſix Years, the Subſidy of Wool, ſo as during the ſame Time, no other Aid or Impoſition be laid upon the Commons.

N. B. *The moſt uſual Subſidy of Wool was, only of Wool exported.*

* The Act recites, 'That the Merchants buying Wools 'in Fairs and Markets, *&c.* by Covin and Conſent between 'them did abate the Price of Wools, and uſe other Weights 'than ordained by the Statute, in Annoyance of the Peo-'ple.' It was therefore ordained, 'That Proclamation be 'made throughout the Realm; and that no Merchant do 'ſuch Covin, upon a grievous Forfeiture; and that certain 'Weights be ſent down to the Sheriff of every Shire as a 'common Standard.' *Thus we ſee not only that there has ever been a Propenſity in the Buyers of Wool to combine againſt the Growers and Sellers of it; but alſo, that the Gentlemen,* i. e. *the Parliament of* England, *at this Time, thought the latter not below their Care and Protection.*

† 'It is accorded and aſſented (the *Monday* next after 'the Week of *Eaſter* 1357) for the common Profit and 'Eaſe of the People, that every Merchant and other, as well 'Alien as Denizen, may bring to the Parts beyond the Sea, 'which be of the King's Amity, Wools, *&c.* from the fifth 'Day of *May* next coming, to the Feaſt of St. *Michael* next 'enſuing, paying for every Sack fifty Shillings for the 'Cuſtom and Subſidy. No Merchant or other ſhall make 'other Refuſe of Wools than was wont to be in Times paſt, 'that is to ſay, of *Cote*, *Gare*, and *Villain* Fleeces. Eve-'ry Sack ſhall contain 26 Stones, and every Stone 14 *lb.* 'according to the Standard of the *Exchequer*, and no more 'nor leſs. And all the Wools, *&c.* bought in the Country 'ſhall be brought to the Staples, and there abide at the 'leaſt fifteen Days. And thoſe that may not there be ſold 'within the fifteen Days, ſhall be brought to the Ports or-'dained for the Staple, to paſs from thence to the Parts

'afore-

The King's Council ‖, *upon Cauſe, may defer the tranſporting of Wool.* Cap. 9.

3. * *Auncel Weight ſhall be put out. Buying and ſelling ſhall be by equal Balance.* 34 Edw. III. c. 5.

A *Confirmation of Liberty granted by a former Proclamation to* Denizens *to tranſport Wool over the Sea until St.* Michael *next.* Cap. 21. †

4. *A. D.* 1362. Parliament met for —— and for the enhanſing the Prices of Wool. *Pryn.* 36 *Ed.* III.

5. *Sumptuary Laws in regard to Apparel,* viz. *of Servants, Handicraftſmen and Yeomen, Knights, Squires, Merchants, Citizens, Burgeſſes, their Wifes and Children, Clerks, Ploughmen,* &c. 37 Edw. III. c. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Clothiers to make Cloths ſufficient of the foreſaid Prices. So that this Statute, for Default of ſuch, be in no wiſe infringed. Cap. 15.

6. Ordered, That Merchants Aliens ſhould not tranſport Woolen Cloths, but that Merchants of *Almain* [f] might carry Worſteds and ſtreight Cloths, and that the Merchants of *Guſcoin* might carry Woolen Cloths to the Value of the Wines brought in. *Pryn.* 37 *Ed.* III. [f] *Germany.*

7. That

‘ aforeſaid, paying the Cuſtom, &c. aforeſaid. And no ‘ Wools vendible ſhall be lodged, ſhewed, or ſold within ‘ three Miles of the Staples, but in the ſame Staple; ſaving ‘ that every Lord and other Man, ſaving a Merchant, may ‘ freely lodge, ſhew, and ſell his Wools which be of his ‘ own growing, in his own Houſe, and elſewhere, as ſhall ‘ pleaſe him.’

‖ The Chancellor and Treaſurer, by the Advice of other of the King's Council, may defer the Term of Paſſage, when they ſee that need is.

* It ſeems that the Wool-buyers were very unwilling to forego the Fraud and Deceit this Method of weighing afforded them, in reſpect both to the Grower and the King's Revenue.

† See the Inſtability of Laws and Counſels in theſe Times. By 27 *Edw.* III. it was made Felony for a Denizen to tranſport Wool. But now (34 *Edw.* III.) an Act paſſes to confirm the Liberty granted by Proclamation to Denizens to tranſport Wool for a Term. This, I preſume, might be intended to alleviate the Burthen of 50*s.* a Sack, the preſent Subſidy upon Wool exported, by which the Price to the Grower appears to have been not a little affected. (*See* §. 4.)

7. That three Shillings four Pence laid upon every Sack of Wool at *Callis*, and all other unreaſonable Impoſitions, may ceaſe.

8. It is agreed, that one Staple ſhall be at *New Melcomb*, and another at *Ipſwich*; and that all Merchants and others for their Eaſe may ſhip Wools at *Lewes*, where the Cuſtomers of *Chicheſter* ſhall take the Cuſtom; and the Cuſtomers at *Yarmouth* do the like for *Lynne*.

9. *A Confirmation of the Statute of the Staple*, 27 Edw. III. *notwithſtanding any Grant, Licence*, &c. 38 Edw. III. c. 7. *

Rapin, p. 439. *Note* 6. *Pryn.* 42 *Ed.* III.

10. *A. D.* 1368. A Parliament met this Year on *May* 1. which granted, for two Years, thirty Shillings and eight Pence, over and above the old Cuſtom of ſix Shillings and eight Pence on every Sack of Wool.

11. A War breaking out with *France*, the Staple of *Callis* is wholly put out, and order'd to be holden at *Newcaſtle*, *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, St. *Botolph*, *Yarmouth*, *Quinsborough*, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Wincheſter*, *Exeter*, and *Briſtow* †. Thoſe of *Ireland* and *Wales* at the Places where firſt ordained. 27 *Edw.* III. c. 1.

Rapin, p. 441. *Note* 2. *Pryn.* 43 *Ed.* III.

12. Upon the Occaſion of this *French* War, a Parliament being call'd, granted the King for three Years, of Denizens, for every Sack of Wool, 43 *s.* 4 *d.* of Aliens, 53 *s.* 4 *d.*

13. *Petitions*. That all Merchants may paſs over Wool freely.

Anſw. The King will be adviſed.

47 *Ed.* III. 14. The Lords and Commons grant to the King the Subſidy of Wools for two Years, upon condition, that if the Wars do ceaſe within two Years, then the latter Payments to ceaſe.

Petitions

* By Statute 43 *Edw.* III. the Staple appears to have been fixed at *Calice* the Year before this, *viz.* 37 *Edw.* III. ſo that by doing things one Year, and undoing them the next, it was an Argument of Parties in *England* about the Buſineſs of the Staple. And no wonder that where Profit was to be made, there ſhould be ſtriving concerning the ſame.

† *York*, *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, and *Canterbury*, which were appointed Staple Towns, (27 *Edw.* III.) are left out of the Number in this Act.

Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers.

15. That the Staple may be only kept at *Callis*, and no Patent and Grant to be made to the contrary.

Anſw. The King will appoint the Staple, as by the Council he ſhall think beſt.

16. Certain Counties there named do pray, that for the Eaſe of their Carriage of Wools, a Staple might be at *Lyn*.

Anſw. The King granteth thereunto, ſo as the Staple at *Yarmouth* do continue.

17. The Lords and Commons do grant unto the King the like Subſidies of Wool, *&c.* as were granted in the laſt Parliament, to endure for three Years from the Feaſt of St. *Michael* next. 50 *Ed.* III.

18. *Richard* * *Lyons*, Merchant of *London*, was accuſed by the Commons of divers Deceits; and, namely, for obtaining Licenſes to convey over great Faizons of Wool and Staple Ware.

Lord *Latimer* is found in full Parliament in Default, and, namely, for divers Cheviſances [1] to the King's Loſs, for Grants procured to the Deſtruction of the Staple, and of the Town of *Callice*, and for divers Impoſitions laid upon Wools. [1] Chap. 5. §. 26.

Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers.

19. The Counties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Leiceſter* and *Derby*, praying, that the Staple may be holden at *Lincoln*, as it was at the firſt Ordinance, and not at St. *Botolph's*.

Anſw. It ſhall continue at St. *Botolph's* at the King's Pleaſure.

20. They require that Remedy may be had againſt certain *Lombards*, who have upon Credit bought Wool of *Engliſhmen*.

That no Woolen Yarn be carried out of the Realm, or ſold to any Perſon, but employed in draping.

* 50 *Edw.* III. *Richard Lyons*, a Merchant of *London*, puniſhed for procuring new Impoſitions; and ſo was Lord *Latimer* the King's Chamberlain. *Coke's 2d Inſt.* p. 61.

Anſw. No ſuch Yarn ſhall paſs out of the Realm upon Pain of Forfeiture.

21. The Citizens of *York* deſire, that whereas the Lord of *Arde* and *Cockham* in *Holland* hath ſtaid ſix and thirty * Surples of their Wools, to the Value of nineteen hundred Pounds, ſuppoſing that the King oweth him Money for his Service in *France*, and will neither for the King's Letters, nor other Means, deliver their Wools; that therefore they may have Licenſe to ſtay the Ships of the ſaid Lord at *Callice*, 'till they be paid and anſwered to the Value.

Anſw. Let it be declared to the Grand Council, and they ſhall have Remedy according to Reaſon.

22. The Commons of the Town of *Callice* pray, that the Staple may be only holden there.

Anſw. The King granteth that it ſhall be holden there, and no where elſe in the Parts beyond the Sea.

23. *Woolen Cloths ſhall not be tranſported before they be fulled.* 50 Edw. III. c. 7. †

24. *Certain Cloths, whereof no Subſidy or Alnage ſhall be paid.* 50 Edw. III. c. 8. ‖

CHAP.

* *Chambers*, in his Dictionary, will have a Surple of Wool to be but half a Sack, *viz.* 13 Stone. But the Value here (above 50 *l.*) ſhows it to have been a larger Quantity, probably a Pocket, of 100 Tod, or more. *See* Chap. 5. §. 13. *Note.* By which a Sarplar of Wool appears to have been, at the leaſt, 4 Sacks, *viz.* 104 Stones.

Pryn. 51 *Ed.* III. † *Petitions of the Commons*, &c. That no Cuſtoms of Woolen Cloths granted 54 *Edw.* III. be paid, unleſs the ſame be fulled. *Anſw.* The King hath commanded, that no Woolen Cloths be carried out of the Realm before they be fulled, and that no Cuſtoms be paid before ſuch fulling.

‖ Friſe Ware made in *Ireland*, or otherwiſe in *England* of *Iriſh* Wool, brought within the Realm of *England*, becauſe not containing Length and Breadth, like Ray Cloths, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

RICHARD *the Second.*

1. THE Staple of Wool appointed to be kept at *Queensburough* is revoked, and appointed to be holden at *Sandwich*. *Pryn.* 1 *Rich.* II.

Petitions, &c.

2. That Remedy may be had, forasmuch as by the Inter-Commoveage [k] with *Scots*, the most of the Wools of the Shires of *York*, *Duresm*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland* and *Northumberland* are transported into *Scotland* without any Custom. [k] Chap. 5. §. 36. *Note.*

Answ. The King by his Council will provide.

3. The Lords and Commons grant the King an additional Subsidy on Wools of 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Sack.

4. The Citizens of *Norwich* require, that no Stranger [*] within their Liberty may there sell or buy any Merchandize by Retail.

Answ. There is a Statute hereafter made therefore which shall be kept.

5. All Merchants may buy and sell within the Realm without Disturbance. 2 *Rich.* II. [†]

6. The

[*] See Chap. 15. §. 24. *Note.* Foreign Butchers.

[†] *This Statute recites*, 'That whereas heretofore in *Edward* III. as also in this present Parliament, great Complaint hath been made of Outrages by the Citizens, *&c.* 'who have not suffered, nor yet will suffer Merchant 'Strangers, *&c.* to bring things vendible and profitable, '*&c.* to any other than to them. By which those things 'have been, and yet be sold to the King and his People 'by the Hands of the Citizens, *&c.* to a great and excessive Dearth, over that they should have been, if Merchant Strangers, *&c.* might freely have sold them. Nor 'yet will suffer the Merchant Strangers that do, or would 'come within the Realm to buy Wools, *&c.* against the 'common Profit, and against the Statutes, *&c.* thereof 'made. Our Lord the King considering clearly the coming of Merchant Strangers to be very profitable for many 'Causes to all the Realm, hath ordained, That all Merchants Aliens that be of the Amity of the King may safe-

6. The Penalty of the Aulnager that ſetteth his Seal to faulty Cloths. 3 *Rich.* II. *c.* 2. *.

Pryn. 3 *Rich.* II. 7. The Lords and Commons grant the King a Subſidy of Wools.

4 *Rich.* II. 8. A Subſidy of Wool as in the laſt Parliament.

Devices of the Commons exhibited in Parliament.

5 *Rich.* II. 9. That due Conſideration may be had of the Poverty of the Nation, by the carrying forth of good Money, *&c.* —— and by the low Prices of Wool. †

10. The Lords and Commons fearing, leſt by the continual Grants of the Subſidies of Wool, the ſame would grow in Cuſtom, and ſo be challenged by the King as of Right; for avoiding this, granted to the King the like Subſidy of Wools as was laſt granted from the Feaſt of the *Circumciſion* until *Candlemas* then following, ſo as the Space between *Chriſtmas* and the *Circumciſion* ſhould be an Interruption to the King's Claim, if it were attempted.

Reaſſembly after Adjournment.

11. The Lords and Commons grant unto the King the Subſidy of Wools, in ſuch wiſe as was lately granted, for four Years.

6 *Rich.* II. 12. It is enacted, that the Staple at *Callice* may be removed from thence to any other Town.

13. A

' ly and ſurely come, *&c.* And it is not the King's Mind ' that Merchant Strangers or Denizens, that will buy and ' ſell their Wools, *&c.* at Fairs and Markets in the Coun- ' try ſhould be reſtrained or diſturbed, *&c.*'

* ' Becauſe the Commons greatly complain to be grieved ' by the Aulnager ſetting his Seal to faulty Cloths in reſpect ' both of Meaſure, *&c.*' A Penalty is appointed on the Aulnager who ſhall offend, *viz.* Forfeiture to the King of the Value of the ſame Cloth ſo ſealed in Deceit, one Year's Impriſonment, and then Ranſom at the King's Will.

† ' Woolfels and Leather may be carried into any Coun- ' try by Aliens and Denizens, ſaving into *France*, until ' *Michaelmas* come twelve months. Certain Money ſhall ' be abated to them, who will pay their Cuſtom before- ' hand.' 5 *Rich.* II. St. 2. *c.* 2.

13. A Confirmation of all Statutes made againſt all Deceits in Cloths, Aulnagers, &c. 7 *Rich.* II. *c.* 9. ‖

14. It is enacted, that all Denizens paſſing Wools, ſhall be diſcharged of 20*d.* Cuſtom, of every Sack newly demanded by the *Cuſtomers.* *Pryn.* 7 *Rich.* II.

15. *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk* and Chancellor of *England*, opening the Parliament, ſaid 'touching the 'Staple, he thought it beſt that the ſame were planted in '*England*; conſidering that the Burgeſſes of *Callice*, 'and other Towns beyond the Seas grew very rich 'thereby, and good Towns at home within the Realm 'were much decayed. That the Subſidity of Wools 'yeilded more to the King, when the Staple was kept 'in *England* by 1000 Marks yearly, than it did now, 'being holden beyond the Seas.' 9 *Rich.* II.

16. It is enacted, that the Staple ſhall be holden in *England*, in ſuch Places, as to the King and his Council ſhall be thought moſt meet.

17. The Lords and Commons granted the King the Subſidy of Wools. 10 *Ric.* II.

18. On *Tueſday June* 2. The Lords and Commons granted the King one Subſidy of Wool, &c. *carried forth* of the Realm, viz.* of every Sack of Wool over and above the old Cuſtom of 6*s.* 8*d.* 44*s.* 4*d.* of Denizens, and of Strangers 46*s.* 8*d.* 11 *Ric.* II.

19. *All Merchants, Aliens and Denizens, may buy and ſell within this Realm without Interruption.* 11 Rich. II. c. 9. *The tenth Law much of the ſame kind, from* M. C.

20. It is enacted, that the Merchants and Artificers of *Worſted* in *Norfolk*, may carry and ſell their ſingle Worſted to any Place or Perſons, being of the King's Amity, notwithſtanding any Inhibition or Liberty to the contrary. *Pryn.* 13 *Ric.* II.

21. That every Conſtable may have the weighing of Wools, as it is there preſcribed.

‖ Joining to the ſame: 'He that findeth Defects in any 'Cloth ſet to Sale, contrary to former Statutes, ſhall have 'the third Part for his Labour. Aulnagers and Collectors 'of Subſidies ſhall make good to the King that third Part 'which the Finder ſhall have.'

* Here we ſee that Denizens were allowed to carry Wool out of the Realm, as well as Aliens, which by 27 *Edw.* III. was only allow'd to the latter, and made Felony to the former. §. 14, 28, 32.

Answ. The King granteth thereto, but for certain Considerations, the Execution was suspended 'till further Deliberation.

22. It is enacted, that every Man shall cocquet his Wools under his own Name, upon the Pain contain'd 18 Edw. III.

23. *There shall be one Weight and one Measure throughout the Realm, saving in the County of* Lancaster. *The Weight of Wool* † *and the Refuse* ‖ *thereof.* 13. Rich. II. c. 9.

Certain coarse Cloths of coarse Wool, may be made of the Breadth of three Quarters of a Yard. c. 10.

24. * *The Cloths of certain Counties, tacked and folded, shall not be put to Sale before they be opened.* c. 11.

Pryn. 14 *Ric.* II. 25. It is enacted, that no Denizen do ship or cocquet Wools, *&c.* in his own Name, which belong to Strangers, to debar the King of his Customs.

26. Merchants of Kerseys require, that they may freely transport the said Kerseys for the old Custom.

27. *The Staple shall be removed from* Callice *into* England. *Every alien Merchant shall bestow half the Money received, upon the Commodities of the Realm.* 14. Rich. II. c. 1. (*See* Ch. 9. §. 8.)

28. *No Denizens shall carry Wool, &c. out of the Realm but only Strangers.* c. 5. (*See* §. 18, and 32.)

29. *A. D.*

† Fourteen Pounds to the Stone.

‖ Cote, Gare, and Villein.

* 'Forasmuch as divers plain Cloths wrought in the 'Counties of *Somerset, Dorset, Bristol* and *Gloucester* be 'tacked and folded together, and set to Sale; of the which 'Cloths a great Part be broken, brouſed, and not agreeing 'in the Colour, neither be according in Breadth, nor in no 'manner to the Part of the same Cloths shewed outwards, 'but falsely wrought with divers Wools, to the great De'ceit, Loss, and Damage of the People, insomuch that the 'Merchants that buy the same, and carry them out of the 'Realm to sell to Strangers, be many times in danger to 'be slain, and sometimes imprisoned and put to Fine and 'Ransom. Therefore it's ordained, that no plain Cloth 'tacked and folded shall be set to Sale within the said Coun'ties.' *Here note the Progress of the Woolen Manufacture in* England, *as also of Abuses therein.*

29. *A. D.* 1390. Wool was so cheap (by reason of a Law which forbad Men to carry it, but to such and such Places, for stranger Merchants to fetch it, and might not export it themselves) that it was sold by the Stone at 3*s.* 2*s.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* (*H. Knyghton* who lived at *Leicester.* †) Chron. pret. p. 78.

30. This Parliament granted the King forty Shillings a Sack on Wool ‖. *Rapin*, p. 466.

31. A Parliament summoned (which met next Day after *All-Souls*) as one Cause, to consider how the Prices of Wools, too much abased, might be enhanced. *Note* 1. *Pryn.* 15 *Ric.* II.

32. It is enacted, That the Staple of Wools shall be holden in Places within this Realm, according to 27. Edw. III. until the Feast of the Nativity of *St. John Baptist* next ensuing. And that every Merchant, Denizen and Alien, may during the same Time, buy any kind of Wools, bringing to *Callice* one Ounce of Bullion for every Sack. After which Feast of *St. John Baptist*, the Staple shall be kept in such Towns upon the Sea-coast, as to the Lords and the Council shall seem good.

Petitions, &c.

33. The Mayor and Burgesses of the Town of *Berwick*, praying that they may buy certain Wools of one Part of *Northumberland*, viz. of *Cocket* towards the North, paying for the Sack 26*s.* 8*d.*

Answ. The King will be advised.

34. That Merchants may transport Kersies according to the old Custom.

Answ. They shall pay Custom according to the Statute therefore made.

35. *Every Person may make Cloth of what Length and Breadth he will.* 17 Rich. II. c. 2. *

† The Shilling containing, at this Time, 213 Grains, these were nearly equal Quantities, respectively, to 7*s.* 6*d.* 5*s.* and 2*s.* 2*d.* of the present silver Coin of *England*.

‖ Upon Condition that the Staple be removed from *Callice* to *England*, and so continue. *Pryn.* 14 *Ric.* II.

* Paying the Aulnage and other Duties, provided it be measured and sealed by the King's Aulnager before sold, and contain no other Deceit.

What ſort of Worſteds may be carried forth of the Realm, and what not. c. 3. †

36. *No Aulneger, Weigher of Wools,* &c. *ſhall have Eſtate in his Office for term of Life or Years, but ſhall be under Governance of the Treaſurer for the Time being.* c. 5.

Pryn. 17 *Ric.* II. 37. Certain Towns of the Weſt, praying that they may have Paſſage of Wools into *Normandy*, and that the *Normans* may diſcharge their Wares at *Southampton*.

Anſw. Let them repair to *Callice*, as it is appointed.

20 *Ric.* II. 38. It is enacted, that every Merchant ſhould bring into the Tower of *London*, one Ounce of Gold, foreign Coin, of every Sack of Wool, *&c.* over and above the due Cuſtoms, or elſe 13 *s.* 4 *d.* and to put in Security therefore.

Writs to the Cuſtomers and Officers of Ports to take ſuch Sureties.

39. *There ſhall be no Licences granted to Ship Merchandizes of the Staple, to any other Place but to* Callice, *without Licence thereof, to be graneed by the King himſelf.* 21 Rich. II. c. 17. (*See* Ch. 11. §. 20.)

Rapin, p. 496. *Note* 8, 40. This Parliament granted the King the Subſidy of Wool, *&c.* for his Life.

CHAP. IX.

HENRY *the Fourth.*

Pryn. 1 *Hen.* IV. 1. THE Commons, by the Aſſent of the Biſhops and Lords, granted to the King for three Years the Subſidy of Wool, *&c. viz.* 50 *s.* for every Sack, of Denizens, and 4 *l.* of Strangers.

2. It

† 'Bolts of ſingle Worſteds paying the Cuſtoms thereof 'due, without paying the particular Duties of *Callice*. No 'double Worſteds, nor half double, nor Worſteds Ray, nor 'Morley, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the ſame.'

N. B. *Theſe latter, we are to underſtand, were not to be exported, on Pain of Forfeiture, without paying the particular Duties of* Calais. (See §. 39.)

2. It is enacted, that the Gold granted *Ann.* 20 Rich. II. ſhall be brought to *Callice*, unto the next Parliament.

3. It is enacted, that the Staple of Wool, Fells, &c. ſhall be only at *Callice*, ſaving that the Merchants of *Jeane*, *Venice*, and other Places towards the Weſt, being of the King's Amity, may diſcharge their Merchandizes at *Hampton*, and take in ſuch Staple Ware, ſaving alſo Liberty to the Men of *Berwick* for their Wools.

4. *Merchants of* London *ſhall be as free to pack their Cloths as other Merchants, or other Strangers within the ſame City, or within other Cities*, &c. *And if any Letters Patents be made to the contrary, they ſhall be repealed.* 1. Hen. IV. c. 10.

Petitions, &c.

5. The Burgeſſes of *Lewes* require, that the weighing of Wool may be at *Lewes* and *Chicheſter*, for the County of *Suſſex*. *Pryn.* 4 *Hen.* IV.

6. That the Statute made in the firſt Year of the King, touching the Staple at *Callice*, may be obſerved.

Anſw. The King granteth, except Worſteds and other Cloths, Herring, and the Patent granted to the Men of *Berwick*.

7. *There ſhall be a Seal of Lead provided to Seal Cloths wrought in* London *and the Suburbs.* 4 Henry IV. c. 6.

8. *Merchants which bring Merchandizes into the Realm, and the ſame do ſell for* Engliſh *Money, ſhall beſtow the Money upon other Merchandizes of* England, *ſaving their reaſonable Coſts.* c. 15. (*See* Ch. 8. §. 27.)

9. At the Requeſt of the Commons, it was enacted, that in Caſe of War with the *French* and *Flemings*, the King's Council ſhould have Power to remove the Staple from *Callice*, to what Place they thought beſt, and that no Patent ſhould be granted to carry any of the ſaid Merchandize to any other Place. *Pryn.* 5 *Hen.* IV.

10. This Parliament granted the King the Subſidy of Wools for three Years. *Rapin*, p. 403.

11. A Subſidy of Wools; Denizens, for every Sack 43*s.* 4*d.* Aliens, 10*s.* more. *Note* 2. *Pryn.* 6 *Hen.* IV.

12. It

12. It is enacted, that the Merchants of *Italy* ſhall pay but four Marks Subſidy for every Sack of Wool, as *Engliſh* Men do *.

Petition.

13. That the ſhipping of Wools may be at *Ipſwich*, and not at *Yarmouth* from henceforth.

Anſw. The ſame Shipping with the Tunnage of Wools, ſhall be at both Places until the next Parliament.

At the Requeſt of the Commons, the King pardoneth 6*s.* 8*d.* of every Sack of Wool.

[1] Ch. 63. 14. All Merchandizes [1] may be ſold in groſs, as well to all others, as to the Citizens of *London* †.

Rapin, p. 498. *Note* 5. *Pryn.* 11 *H.* IV. 15. The Commons continued the Duty on Wool, as in the laſt Parliament.

16. It is to be noted, that in the 14th Year of *Richard* II. the Subſidy and Cuſtom of Wools came to ‖ 160,000 *l.* over and above Poundage, Tonnage, Aulnage, Pellage, *&c.*

17. *Cloths ſhall not be tacked together and plaited before the Aulnager hath ſet his Seal to them.* 11 Hen. IV. c. 6.

18. *Mer-*

* A Miſtake this; four Marks being exactly the Subſidy paid by Aliens, which was 10*s.* above what Denizens were to pay, as ſee §. 11.

† This Statute recites, 'That whereas Cloth-makers, '*&c.* by the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Drapers and 'Merchants of *London*, were grievouſly conſtrained to ſell 'their Cloths, *&c.* only to the Merchants and Inhabitants 'of the ſaid City, to the ſingular Profit of them of *London*, 'and particular Hurt of the Cloth-makers, *&c.* and gene-'ral Damage of the Community.' Therefore it was ordained, *&c.* 'notwithſtanding any Franchiſe or Liberty to 'the contrary.' (*See* Chap. 63.)

‖ The Duty on Wools 14 *Rich.* II. (See Chap. 8. §. 30.) was 40*s. per* Sack; but whether with, or without the old Cuſtom of half a Mark, does not appear. But admit the whole Duty to have been no more than 40*s.* a Sack, this proves Duty paid in that ſame Year, for 80,000 Sacks exported ‡, which is 130,000 Packs.

‡ *See* Chap. 5. §. 34. 27 *Edw.* III. c. 1. Ch. 7. §. 1. *Note.* Chap. 8. §. 2, 10, 15, 18, 25, 33. Chap. 11. §. 2, 19. *Note*: all tending to prove, that the uſual Subſidies from Wool were only from *Wool exported.*

18. *Merchants Strangers shall pay to the King the Customs and Subsidies granted to him by the Commons for Cloth cut in pieces, and for Cloths cut into Garments proportionably after the Rate of a whole Piece.* Cap. 7.

19. Duties on Wool continued. *Rapin*, p. 501. *Note* 3.

Petition, &c.

20. That no Licenſe be granted to export Wools, &c. belonging to the Staple, other than to *Callice*.

Anſw. The King will forbear to grant any Licenſe for Wools growing on this Side the Water of *Cocket*, ſo always as the Men of *Berwick* may paſs Wools growing beyond the ſaid Water.

21. That all Merchants may freely tranſport any Staple Merchandize, ſo they paſs the Streights of *Morocco* [m].

[m] *Gibraltar.*

Anſw. The King thereof will be adviſed.

22. Duty on Wool continued for one Year longer. *Rapin*, p. 502. *Note* 6.

CHAP. X.

HENRY *the Fifth.*

1. *A. D.* 1413. The Parliament granted the King for four Years, the like Subſidy on Staple Wares (*of which Wool was one*) as had been granted to K. Hen. IV.

2. *Merchandizes of the Staple*, viz. *Wools*, &c. *ſhall not be carried to any Part beyond the Sea without the King's Licence*, until they be firſt brought to the Staple, upon Pain of Forfeiture of them. 2 Hen. V. c. 6.

Petitions, &c.

3. That the ſtreight Cloths, called the Dozens of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, may pay Cocket Cuſtoms after the Rate of broad Cloths. *Pryn.* 3 *Hen.* V.

Anſw. The King will be adviſed.

4. The

4. The Commonalty of *Coventry*, prayen that four of them yearly to be choſen, may ſurvey the Dyers of the ſame Town.

5. For keeping of Money within the Realm, it is
7 *Hen.* V. enacted——and alſo that certain Wools be bought and ſent into *Normandy*, any Statute, for the Staple, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

6. Every Merchant, Stranger, buying Wools in *England* to carry to the Weſt Parties, and elſewhere, not coming to the Staple to be ſold, ſhall bring to the Maſter of the Mint one Ounce of Bullion Gold, for every Sack, or the Value in Silver. (*See* Ch. 11. §. 3.)

CHAP. XI.

HENRY *the Sixth.*

Rapin, P. 536. *Note* 5.

1. *A. D.* 1422. The Parliament granted the King 33*s.* 4*d.* on every *Sack of Wool exported* for two Years.

2. *The Penalty if any carry Wools*, &c. *not cuſtomed out of the Realm, to any Place ſaving to* Callice, *ſhall be to forfeit them, and to be impriſoned.* 2 Hen. VI. c. 5.

3. *Merchant Strangers ſhall only pay* 43*s.* 4*d.* *for every Sack of Wool, notwithſtanding the Grant made.* 7. Hen. V. (*See* Ch. 10. §. 6.

4. *Sheep ſhall not be tranſported beyond Sea without the King's Licence.* 3 Hen. VI. c. 2. *

5. *A. D.*

* 'Becauſe divers Perſons do from time to time carry out 'of the Realm great Number of Sheep with Fleeces into 'Flanders, and other Countries beyond the Sea; and there 'they ſhear them, and ſell as well the ſame Sheep, as the 'Wools of the ſame, to Men of the ſame Country; ſo 'that by ſuch Perſons the Sheep within the ſame Country 'of *Flanders* are likely to be much increaſed, the Cuſtoms 'of Wool leſſened, and the Price of Wool abated, as well 'at the Staple of *Callice*, as here in *England*.' Therefore it is enacted, *&c.* (*except he have the King's Licence.*)

But note, *Prohibitions of Parliament, in theſe Terms, which occur very frequently, can only be underſtood, as ſo many Devices for ſqueezing Money out of the People for the granting of ſuch Licences.*

5. *A. D.* 1425 †. The Parliament granted the King 43 *s.* 4 *d.* on every Sack of Wool from Strangers, and from Denizens 33 *s.* 4 *d.* *Rapin*, p. 544. *Note* 2.

6. Subsidy of Wools as before. *Pryn*, p. 446. 8 *Hen.* VI.

Petition, &c.

7. That no Subsidy be paid for Lambs Wool, sherling and scalding, but only Poundage.

Answ. The King will be advised.

8. *Every City and Borough shall have a common Balance and Weight. Who may buy Wool and Yarn* ‖. 8 Hen. VI. c. 5.

9. * *None shall force, clack or beard any Wool.* 8 Hen. VI. c. 22.

10. *No Thrums or Woolen Yarn shall be carried out of the Realm.* c. 23. ‡

11. Autho-

† *A. D.* 1425. Computus of the Prior and a Canon of *Burcester*, *Oxf.* in Dr. *Kennet*'s Paroch. Antiq. For 21 Lambs, 4 *l.* For 36 Sheep Skins of two Years old, 9 *s.* For 23 Tod of *pure Wool*, (at 9 *s.* 6 *d.* the Tod) 10 *l.* 18 *s.* 6 *d.* N. B. *In this Year* (see Chap. 4. *P. S.*) *the Shilling was altered from* 142 *to* 176 *Grains. So that according to the former, this Price of* 9 s. 6 d. per *Tod, was equal to near* 15 s. 6 d. *of our present Money; according to the latter, to* 19 s. 4 d. ½. For two Yards of Russet Cloth for the Shepherd, 2 *s.* 6 *d.* Chron. pret. p. 80. P. 82.

‖ This Act recites the Grievance of Auncel, not yet it seems rooted out of the Nation, and therefore enacts, 'That Wools, &c. shall be weighed by the Balance *, so 'that the Tongue of the Balance do not incline more to the 'one Party than the other; that the Weights be sealed. 'That every City, Borough and Town, wherein is a Con'stable, furnish such Balance and Weights. And that no 'Man shall buy Woolen Yarn, unless he will make Cloth 'thereof.' * Chap. 5. §. 30.

* 'Forasmuch as great Hindrance cometh to the King in 'his Customs, by them that do clack and force the good 'Wools of the Realm to carry them out of the same; it is 'ordained, 'That no Stranger shall cause to be forced, 'clacked, nor bearded, any manner of Wools, to carry 'them out of the Realm.'

‡ 'Because the Weavers in this Realm be accustomed, 'when they have wrought a Cloth near to the End, to cut

'away

Pryn. 9 *H.* VI. 11. Authority is given to the Chancellor of *England*, to end the Suit between *Lewin le Clark* Burgeſs of *Gaunt*, and *William Brampton* of *Cheſterville* in *Derby*, touching a Bargain of Wool.

Wools carried any where but to Calice *forfeit.* 10 Hen. VI. c. 7.

Petition, &c.

10 *H.* VI. 12. The Commons of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, and of the *Biſhoprick*, prayen that the Merchants at *Newcaſtle* may at all times buy and tranſport their Wools.

Anſw. The King will be adviſed.

13. That two Perſons of every Hundred within the Realm, may by Commiſſion be appointed to ſearch the due making of Woolen Cloths, and to ſeal the ſame, taking therefore one Penny ‡.

14. A Grant for one Year of the Subſidy of Wool.

15. *Of what Length and Breadth Cloths called Streights ſhall be.* 11 Hen. VI. c. 9. *

Rapin, P. 556. *Note* 3. *Pryn.* 11 *H.* VI. 16. *A. D.* 1433. The Parliament granted a Subſidy of 53*s.* 4*d.* of every Sack of Wool for three Years.

17. *All*

'away for their private Profit the Thread which is left unwoven, and call the ſame Thrums, which they ſell to ſuch Perſons as carry them into *Flanders*, &c. tho' the King have thereof no Profit or Cuſtom. And under colour of ſuch Thrums, divers Perſons do carry great Quantities of Woolen Yarn, to the Hindrance of the King's Cuſtoms and Subſidies from Cloth. Wherefore it is, &c.'

‡ Though the two Searchers here required, in ſeveral Hundreds in the Kingdom, might not be neceſſary, and in many, the Number might be too ſmall for the Occaſion; yet the Nature of the Petition is an Argument, that the Woolen Manufacture had at this Time ſpread itſelf throughout moſt Parts of the Kingdom. Which is to be noted againſt the Opinion of thoſe, who not only think the Woolen Manufacture in *England*, and the allowed Exportation of Wool to have been incompatible, but alſo that the *Engliſh* had not made any Progreſs in this Manufacture before the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

* This Act preſcribes the Duty of the Aulnager in reſpect to the ſeveral Sorts of Cloth, and is an Evidence of the Growth of the Woolen Manufacture in *England*.

17. *All Wools and Fells that ſhall be ſhipped to be tranſported, ſhall be carried to* Callice. *But the King with the Advice of his Council may modify this Statute:* And ſaving to the Merchants of *Venice*, *Jean*, *Tuskane*, *Lombardy*, *Florence*, *Cataloign*, and the Burgeſſes of *Berwick*, *the Liberties granted them by another Statute.* 14 Hen. VI. c. 2.

18. *A. D.* 1435. This Year the Parliament granted the King a Subſidy of 33*s.* 4*d.* of Merchants Denizens, and of 46*s.* 8*d.* of Aliens, for every Sack of Wool. *A. D.* 1436. the like Subſidy of Wools for three Years. *Pryn.* 14 *H.* VI. *Rapin*, p. 558. *Note* 6.

19. *No Merchant ſhall ſhip any Merchandizes of the Staple, but at Wharfs aſſigned*, &c. † 15 Hen. c. 8.

20. *Butter and Cheeſe may be tranſported without Licence.* 18 Hen. VI. c. 3. ‖

21. *It*

† 'Our Lord the King, to avoid and eſchew the great 'Damage daily done to him, in with-holding the Cuſtoms 'and Subſidies, and the Hindrance to the Staple of *Calice* 'in the Sale of Wools, *&c.* by ſuch as do ſhip their Wools, '*&c.* in divers ſecret Places and Creeks, ſtealing and con'veying the ſame not cuſtomed to divers Parts beyond the 'Sea, and not to *Calice*, hath ordained (as above); and that 'every Maſter of a Ship carrying Wools, *&c.* ſhall find 'Surety to the Cuſtomers of the Ports to carry the ſame to 'the Staple at *Calice*, and bring a Certificate from thence, 'that he hath ſo done: ſaving always to the Merchants of '*Jean*, *Venice*, *Tuſcain*, *Lumbardy*, *Florence* and *Cateloine*, 'and to the Burgeſſes of *Berwick*, the Liberties to them 'granted by Statute heretofore.'

‖ 'Whereas by Stat. 21 *Rich.* II. the Staple was limited 'to reſt at *Calice*; and certain Perſons had before that Time 'purchaſed Licence to carry out Wools, *&c.* whither it 'pleaſed them, to their own great Advantage, and Da'mage of others not having Licence. Wherefore it was 'ordained, that the aforeſaid Statute ſhould in all Points be 'obſerved, unleſs in Caſe of Licence to the contrary by the '*King himſelf*. In reſpect to which Statute, the Chancel'lor hath often denied Licences for Cheeſe and Butter. But 'it being conſidered that Cheeſe and Butter cannot well be 'kept, nor bear the Coſts of the Staple,' therefore it was enacted, *&c.* (as above.)

21. *It ſhall be Felony to carry Wools or Wool Fells to any other Place than to* Calice: *Saving ſuch which paſs the Streights of* Marrock. c. 15.

Rapin, p. 563. *Note* 1. *Pryn.* 18 *H.* VI.

22. *A. D.* 1439. A Parliament granted a Subſidy of 33 *s.* 4 *d.* from Denizens, and of 46 *s.* 8 *d.* from Aliens, of every Sack of Wool, for three Years.

23. *Thoſe Denizens that ſhall have the King's Licence to carry Wools to other Places and Ports than the King's Staple, ſhall pay Aliens Cuſtoms and Subſidies. But this Statute ſhall not extend to thoſe, who before this Time have Licences for the ſame End.* 20 Hen. VI. c. 4.

24. *Every Year, during four Years, four Wardens of Worſted Weavers ſhall be choſen to do right and make due Search of Worſteds in* Norwich, *and two in* Norfolk: *And of what Length and Breadth all Sorts of Worſteds made in* Norwich *and* Norfolk *ſhall be* *. c. 10.

25. *There ſhall be a Reformation of the Partition of Money ariſing by the Sale of Wools*, &c. *by the Mayor and Conſtables of the Staple of* Calice, *during ſeven Years.* c. 12. †

26. *Pet.*

* Another Evidence of a growing Woolen Manufacture in *England*.

† From this and other Circumſtances, it may be gathered, that the *Merchants of the Staple* in *England*, with their Agents or Correſpondents at *Calais*, and the Mayor of the Staple, and other Officers there, were ſome way or other combined; and that they were poſſeſſed of the Advantage of a Monopoly of the *Engliſh* Wool, and other the Staple Commodities of the Kingdom, except as the ſame were clandeſtinely exported to other Parts, or by Permiſſion, to Places within the *Streights*, or to *Berwick*; or as particular Perſons purchaſed Licence from the Crown to carry them elſewhere than to *Calais*. And this creating a perpetual Struggle between the Merchants of the Staple, *&c.* and others, Country Gentlemen probably, (as often as they bethought themſelves of their own Intereſt) and private Traders not embarked with this Body of Men, is the Reaſon, as I take it, why we meet with ſuch a Fluctuation of Counſels and Meaſures, touching the Conveyance of Wool, *&c.* to *Calais*, or to other Parts. For ſuppoſing the ſame Duties to have been regularly paid at the Ports of *England*, I cannot ſee what other Purpoſes the confining of Staple Wares particularly to *Calais* could ſerve, beſides that of Monopoly; an Evil, Trade has ever groaned under, in one Shape

26. *Pet.* That no *Stapler* have any Voice at the Election of any Mayor, or Conſtable of the Staple, unleſs he have Goods cocqueted in *Callice* to the Number of 10 Sacks. *Anſw.* The King will be adviſed. *Pryn.* 23 *H.* VI.

27. *Whoever ſhall pack or ſhip Thrums, or Threads to paſs beyond the Seas, during three Years, ſhall forfeit the ſame or the Value.* 23 Hen. VI. c. 3.

28. *Four Wardens of Worſted-Weavers ſhall be choſen yearly during three Years next coming, within the City of* Norwich, *and other* * *four within the County of* Norfolk, *which ſhall ſet down Orders for the true making of Worſteds within* Norwich, Norfolk *and* Suffolk †. c. 4.

29. *A. D.* 1446. A Subſidy of 34*s.* 4*d.* on Denizens, 53*s.* on Aliens, for every Sack of Wool for four Years. *Rapin,* p. 569. *Note* 6.

30. *If Woolen Cloths made in this Realm ſhall be prohibited, and not accepted in* Brabant, Holland *and* Zealand, *then no Merchandize growing or wrought there within the Dominion of the Duke of* Burgoigne, *ſhall come into* England *upon Pain of Forfeiture thereof.* 27 Hen. VI. c. 1. ‖

31. *Becauſe in the Reign of* Edw. III. *the Subſidies and Cuſtoms of the Staple of* Callice *were* 68,000 *l. yearly, and*

now

Shape or another. And we ſee that in this Struggle, the Monopoliſts of the Staple, the reigning Company of theſe Times, by being able to furniſh the Crown with ready Money upon Exigencies (though the Country paid them again with Intereſt) were, for the moſt part, too hard for the Country Gentlemen and private Traders. That is, they did then, in all likelihood (as ſuch Bodies of Men have often done ſince) enrich themſelves at the Expence of the Landed Intereſt, and the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects; inſinuating with much Addreſs, at the ſame time, themſelves to be the great Benefactors of their Country; of which their own particular Wealth was the only Teſtimony to be produced.

* Two more than heretofore.

† This County put under their Juriſdiction. *A Sign of the Manufacture ſpreading in thoſe Parts.*

‖ I obſerve, that debarring them of *Engliſh* Wool was not threatned by way of Repriſal; whence we may ſuppoſe it to have been underſtood at that Time, not to be the proper Revenge; but that the greater Inconvenience would have accrued to the Nation from ſuch a Meaſure.

now be not above 12,000 *l. therefore no Licence granted, or to be granted by the King ſhall be available for the Carriage of Wools,* &c. *to any Place out of the Realm but to* Callice; *and whoſoever doth obtain, accept, and put in Execution any ſuch Licence, ſhall be out of the King's Protection.* c. 2.

Pryn. 27 *H.* VI. 32. The like Subſidy of Wools, for four Years, as before.

Chron. pret. p. 86. 33. *A. D.* 1449. Fifteen Sheep at 1*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* *viz.* each Sheep at (within $\frac{1}{3}$) 2*s.* 5*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

34. *A Confirmation of a Subſidy of Wools,* &c. *and Cloth tranſported.* 31 Hen. VI. c. 8.

Rapin, p. 579. *Note* 3. *Pryn.* 31 *H.* VI. 35. *A. D.* 1452. The Commons granted the King Tonnage and Poundage, *during his Life.* Alſo a Subſidy of Wools, *viz.* 23*s.* 4*d.* for every Sack, of Denizens, and * *five Pounds* of Aliens, and *ſo of other Staple* Ware according to the Rate.

Pryn. 31 *H.* VI. 36. It is enacted, that the Mayor, Conſtable, and Fellowſhip of the Merchants of the Staple, ſhall be paid 10,000 Marks, of the Subſidy of Wool at *Calice*; which they lent towards the Payment of the Soldiers Wages there.

37. The Mayors and Merchants of the Staple made ſeveral Demands, and had Anſwers thereunto.

38. No wrought Silk belonging to the Myſtery of Silk Women ſhall be brought into this Realm, by way of Merchandize during five Years †.

CHAP.

* This Policy is juſt the Reverſe of 27 *Edw.* III. c. 1, 2, 3 •; and had not the Subſidy on Aliens extended to all other Staple Wares, in the ſame Proportion as on Wool; a Perſon comparing it with 27 *Edw.* III. c. 3. would have been apt to look upon it only as an intended Prohibition on the Exportation of Wool, becauſe by that former Act it was capital for Denizens to export Wool, while Strangers were invited to do it. But Denizens had long ᵖ ſince been at Liberty to export Wool, of which Merchant Staplers as a Company had, for the moſt part, reaped the principal Advantage, and were now laying the Foundation of a compleat Monopoly; ſee Chap. 12. §. 1. which ſhews their predominant Power and Influence, who, had things continued long upon that Foot, would have engroſſed the Trade of the Kingdom, both buying and ſelling *at their own Prices.*

• Chap. 5. §. 35.

ᵖ Chap. 7. §. 3. Ch. 8. §. 14, 18, 25.

† Hence I preſume we may date, if not the firſt Riſe, yet the firſt public Encouragement of the Silk Manufacture in *England.*

CHAP. XII.

Edward *the Fourth.*

1. *No Alien shall ship or carry out of this Realm any Wools, &c. neither shall any Denizen carry them but to* Callice*, *except such as be growing in* Northumberland, Cumberland *and* Westmoreland, *and the Bishoprick of* Durham, *which shall be carried to* Newcastle. 3 Edw. IV. c. 1. (See §. 7.)

2. *Whoever shall bring into this Realm any wrought Silk to be sold, concerning the Mystery of Silk Workers, shall forfeit the same.* c. 3.

3. *Certain Merchandizes shall not be brought ready wrought into this Realm,* viz. Woolen Caps, Cloths, nor (See the *Act*, which enumerates almost all Sorts of Haberdashers, Milliners, (except Linen) Cutlers, and Ironmongers Wares) c. 4.

4. The Parliament granted to the King, for Life, of every *English* Merchant, of every Sack of Wool 33 *s.* 4 *d.* of every Merchant Stranger, as well Denizen † as otherwise, 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *Pryn.* 4 *Ed.* IV.

5. Whereas 32681 *l.* was due to the Mayor and Company of the Merchants of the Staple in *Calice*, the King by Authority of Parliament, in Contentation of the same, assigneth them to take a yearly Rate of the Subsidies of Wool, until Payment had.

* Thus was the Exportation of Wool confined in a great measure to *Calais*, which was a considerable Point gained by the Merchants of the Staple, because they alone had the Privilege of trading thither in Wool and other Staple Commodities; (see Chap. 11. §. 23, 36. Chap. 12. §. 5.) But at the same time, it was a Point carried at the Expence of the Landed Interest, hereby so far subjected to a Monopoly; (but see §. 4.)

† By Denizen, in Law, is understood an Alien enfranchised in *England* by the King's Charter and Donation, and thereby entitled, in many respects, to do as the King's native Subjects do. *Chamb. Dictionary.*

6. *The Length and Breadth of Cloths made to be ſold* ‖. *No Cloths wrought beyond Sea ſhall be brought into* England. 4 Edw. IV. c. 1.

7. The Wools of the Country beyond the Waters of *Tweed* and *Teeſe*, and of the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Richmondſhire*, *Northumberland*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham* only, and of none other Counties, ſhall be carried to *Newcaſtle* to be tranſported to the Staple of *Callice*; and all other Shires to the Staple of *Callice*. c. 3.

8. *No Perſon during three Years ſhall buy or take any Promiſe of Bargain for Wools then not ſhorn, of the growing of* Berks, &c. *before the ſame be ſhorn, and until* Bartholomew *Day following, but they which ſhall make Cloth or Yarn of them.* c. 4. (*See* Ch. 14. §. 9. Ch. 15. §. 23.)

Rapin, p. 604. 9. *A. D.* 1466. A Truce concluded with the Duke of *Burgoigne*, by which Commerce was reſtored with his Dominions, which had been interrupted from the Year 1448.

A. D. 1467. Prolonged for 30 Years.

10. *The Election, Oath, Authority, ſearching and ſealing of the Wardens of Worſted Weavers in* Norwich *and* Norfolk. 7 Edw. IV. c. 1. ‡

11. The Inhabitants in certain Hundreds in the County of *Devon*, may put Flocks in their Cloth made of the Wool growing in the ſame Hundreds. c. 2. *

12. No

‖ This Act recites ſundry Deceits and Abuſes practiſed in making Cloths in *England*, the Loſs to the Nation thereby, and Diſcredit *beyond Sea*, the Importation, for that Reaſon, of foreign Cloths, and therefore ordains many Regulations of the Manufacture, and makes all foreign Cloths, except *Welſh* and *Iriſh*, to be forfeited.

‡ This Act recites, 'that divers Perſons in *Norwich* and 'Norfolk make untrue Wares in all manner of reſpects of 'all manner of Worſteds, by which means they loſe their ancient Eſtimation beyond Sea, *&c.*' and therefore it was ordained, *&c. The Number of Wardens increaſed from four to eight.*

9 §. 6. * By the Act 4 *Ed.* IV. c. 1. 9 no Flocks might be put into any Cloth. Whereupon the Inhabitants of theſe Hundreds, *Siſton*, *Taveſtock*, and *Rowburgh*, *Devonſhire*, repreſent, 'that they are like to be undone by this Act; that 'they have continually uſed from the Time, whereof is no 'Memory,

12. No Woolen Yarn or Cloth ſhall be carried beyond Sea unfulled. c. 3. †

13. In Conſideration of 10000 *l.* paid, in Part of Payment of a greater Sum, due by the King, to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, for Marriage between the ſaid Duke and *Margaret* his Siſter, and paid by the *Mayor* and *Company of the Staple*: The King by his Letters Patents, granteth, *that they ſhall be paid the ſame of the Subſidy of Wools*; the which Letters Patents, are by common Conſent confirmed. *Pryn.* 8 *Ed.* IV. *Pryn.* 8 *Ed.* IV.

14. *The Length, Breadth and Weight of broad ſet Cloths and ſtrait ſet Cloths made in* Norfolk, Suffolk *and* Eſſex: *And they ſhall be ſealed by the Aulnager.* 8 Edw. IV. c. 1.

15. *A. D.* 1468. Upon the occaſion of renewing an ancient Alliance between *England* and *Arragon*, the King is ſaid to have ſent the King of *Arragon* a Preſent of ſome Ewes and Rams, which ſo multiplied in *Spain*, that it proved very detrimental to the *Wool Trade* in *England*. ‖ *Biondi*, *Hobbington*, *Hall*. *Rapin*, p. 605.

'Memory, to mix Flocks in the Cloth made with the 'Wool growing in thoſe Hundreds; without which Flocks 'they could make no Cloth to ſell, by reaſon of the Groſſ-'neſs and Stubbornneſs of the ſaid Wool.' The Premiſes conſider'd, it was enacted (as above.)

† One Reaſon aſſign'd in the Act is, that of ſuch Yarn and Cloth the King had no manner of Cuſtom.

‖ The Tranſlator of *Rapin*, in his Note upon this Paſſage, remarks, 'that tho' the King gave Licence and Liber-'ty for ſome *Cotſwold* Sheep to be tranſported into *Spain*, 'yet it is not thence to be inferred, that there were no 'Sheep in that Country before. For the contrary is evi-'dent from a Patent of King *Henry* II. granted the 31ſt of 'his Reign to the *Weavers of London*, importing, that if 'any Cloth were found to be made of *Spaniſh Wool* mixed 'with *Engliſh* Wool, the Mayor of *London* ſhould ſee it 'burnt.' *Whatever Truth there may be in this Account, or ſome others* *, *of Sheep being ſent at any Time from* England *to* Spain, *the Notion grafted upon it, of* Spain *deriving their Plenty of fine Wool from thence, is to the laſt degree fabulous. I ſhould rather be of Opinion, that* England *had borrowed ſome Part of its Breed from thence, (as it certainly did the whole from one Place or another:) Becauſe we find that* Spain *and* Portugal *were anciently famous for Sheep and Wool, and the former for fine Cloth, before the* Engliſh *knew what it was to be cloathed.* (See Chap. 3. §. 18.) *Note* 1.

Then

P. 610. *Note* 6. 16. *A. D.* 1470. At this Time the *Merchants of the Staple* were Persons of great Authority, and had a great Influence upon the Affairs of the Nation.

17. *During five Years, the Wools of certain Counties only, shall be carried to* Newcastle, *and all others to* Callice, *upon Pain of Felony.* 12 Ed. IV. c. 5. (*See* §. 20.)

P. 617. 18. *A. D.* 1472. It appears in several Papers of the Collection of the Publick Acts, that some Dispute arose concerning the Truce of Commerce for thirty Years, between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*. An Affair of much the same Nature, with the *Hanse* Towns, created the King likewise some Trouble. These Towns, whereof *Lubeck*, *Hamburgh* and *Dantzick*, were the three Principal, had obtained of the Kings of *England* several Privileges for their Merchants, because their Commerce was

Then for the Patent of Hen. II. *mentioned by the Translater, and for which he quotes* Stow, *that confirms my Lord Chief Justice* Coke's *Account of the much higher Antiquity of the* English *Woolen Manufacture in* England *than* 9 Hen. III. *Which yet is higher, above* 100 *Years, than is allow'd by all our modern* English *Writers.*

* 'It is allow'd, that the Goodness of the *Spanish* Wool 'is owing to a few *English* Sheep sent over into *Spain* as a 'Present by *Hen.* II. of *England*; or, as others will have 'it, though we think mistakenly, by *Edw.* IV. in 1465. *Chambers*'s *Dict.* English *Wool.*

9 *Ed.* IV. 'Great was the Loss and Hindrance which the Realm 'received by the Licence, which King *Edw.* III. 'gave 'unto King *John* of *Arragon*, for to transport into *Spain* a 'certain Number of *Cotteswold* Sheep, both in respect of 'Wools and Woolfels. For we see what great Quantity of 'Wools (bettered under their Climate) doth continually 'come from divers Places of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions 'into *Fraunce* and the *Low Countries*; especially into *Flaunders*, where divers fine Stuffs are made and brought unto 'us and other Nations.' *England*'s *View*, &c. 1603.

☞ *Whence we learn not only that much* Spanish *Wool was carried into* Flanders, *but that in* France, *so early as before the Year* 1603, *was a Woolen Manufacture, where Cloth was made with* Spanish *Wool.*

I may also add here what Sir Richard Baker *has inserted in his Chronicle*, p. 112. B. 'In the second Year of this 'King's Reign, (*Edw.* I.) there happen'd the greatest Rot 'of Sheep in *England* that ever was known, which conti- 'nued five and twenty Years; and came (as was thought) 'by

was very advantageous to the *Engliſh*. This Affair produced an open War, which ended in a Treaty; and,

19. A Peace between the King and Merchants of *England*, and the Duke of *Hauns*, or Merchants of the Stilliards, by which Reſtitution was to be made on all Sides, and a free Intercourſe for ever to be had. This Treaty was confirmed by Act of Parliament *. *Pryn.* 13 *Ed.* IV.

20. *An Alteration of Part of the Statute of* 12 Ed. IV. c. 5. (*See* §. 17.) *touching the tranſporting of Wools growing in* Cumberland, *&c. which ſhall hereafter be ſhipped at* Newcaſtle, *and from thence conveyed to* Callice, *or to any other Place at the King's Pleaſure.* 14 Ed. IV. c. 3.

21. *An Alteration of Part of the Statute of* 4 Edw. IV. c. 1. viz. *Cloths, half Cloths,* &c. *ſhall be ſealed with Wax at both Ends inſtead of Lead. And the Treaſurer of* England *ſhall be impowered to let the Aulnage to Farm upon good Security.* 17 Edw. IV. c. 5. § 6.

22. *No Ribbands, Laces, Corſes, Girdles, Call Silk or twined, ſhall be brought into* England *to be ſold, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the ſame or the Value thereof.* 22 Edw. IV. c. 3.

CHAP. XIII.

RICHARD *the Third.*

1. *THE Length and Breadth of Cloths. Of what Ability an Aulnager muſt be, and what Cloths he may ſeal.* 1 Rich. III. c. 8. †

'by one infected Sheep of incredible Greatneſs, brought 'out of *Spain* by a *French* Merchant into *Northumberland*.' *This, in a literal Senſe, is an incredible Story; but it may be an Allegory, denoting ſome Prejudice, imagined at leaſt, to* England *in the Price of Wool, by the then Importation either of that Commodity from* Spain, *or of Cloth made beyond Sea with* Spaniſh *Wool.*

* 'And the Houſe called the *Style Houſe*, or *Stillyard*, 'in the Pariſh of *All-Hallows* in *London*, by Authority of 'Parliament, was aſſigned to the Merchants of the *Hanſe*, 'and to their Succeſſors, for ever, yielding yearly to the 'Mayor of *London* 70*l. &c.*' *Pryn.* 13 *Ed.* IV.

† This Statute contains many Regulations in 19 Sections. The 14th provides, that no Stranger ſhall buy any Wool which

2. *In what ſort* Italian *Merchants may ſell their Merchandizes. Several Reſtraints of Aliens.* c. 9. ‖

3. *The Statute of* 22 Edw. IV. c. 3. *prohibiting wrought Laces of Silk to be brought into this Realm, continued for ten Years.* c. 10.

4. *Certain Merchandizes prohibited to be brought into this Realm* ready wrought. (*See* Ch. 12. §. 3.)

CHAP. XIV.

HENRY *the Seventh.*

1. ALIENS made Denizens, ſhall pay ſuch Cuſtoms as they did before. 1 Hen. VII. c. 2. *

Lord *Verulam. Hen.* VII. P. 59.

2. *A. D.* 1487. *November* 9. A Parliament met. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as Lord Chancellor, opening

which ſhall paſs through the Streights of *Marrock*, ſorted, clacked, or barked, (ſee Chap. 11. §. 9.) but that the ſame Wool be as it is clipped, and purely wound without Deceit. The 18th provides, that certain Clauſes of the Statute extend not to any Cloth in *Wincheſter* or *Saliſbury*, Places not before mention'd on the like Occaſion; which may be obſerved as an Evidence of the Woolen Manufacture increaſing in *England*.

‖ This Act recites, that Merchants of *Italy* bought and ſold Wool and Woolen Cloths within the Realm, and that many of them uſed the making of Cloth alſo within the ſame. And therefore enacts, (§. 8.) 'That none of the 'ſaid Merchants of *Italy* ſhall ſell or barter any Woolen 'Cloths, Wools, &c. within the Realm, but ſhall have and 'convey the ſame Wools, &c. over the Sea by the Streights 'of *Marrock*. And that no Alien ſhall make Cloth within 'the Realm.' *I ſuppoſe this to have been an Act of Popularity at this Time, in the bloody Uſurper. How much a wiſer Courſe did* Edw. III. *take, in granting his Protection to foreign Manufacturers,* &c.?

* The Policy of this is obvious; to prevent Strangers being made Denizens, merely for the Advantage of ſaving in Cuſtoms. This Law is repeated 11 *Hen.* VII. c. 14. and gives for Reaſon, that Denizens made uſe of their Privilege to colour other Goods, of Strangers, beſides their own.

opening the Seſſions with a Speech to both Houſes, ſaid, 'His Grace prays you to take into Conſideration Matter of *Trade*, as alſo the *Manufactures* of the Kingdom.

3. In this Parliament Taxes were as follows, 1. Tunnage, 2. Poundage, 3. the Subſidy of Wools, which was 33 *s.* 4 *d.* of Denizens, and of Aliens, 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for every Sack. *Rapin*, p. 662. *Note* 2.

4. The Beginning of this Year, Hen. VII, concluded with *Maximilian* (Governor of the *Low Countries*, in the Name of his Son *Philip* a Minor) a Treaty wholly relating to Trade, and which was only Proviſional, till certain Articles could be ſettled; upon which the *Engliſh* and *Flemings* with Difficulty agreed. The Trade between *England* and the *Low Countries* was ſo neceſſary to the Subjects of both Princes, that it could not be interrupted without both being Sufferers. But for that very Reaſon, each ſtrove to reap ſome Advantage from the Situation of Affairs, which rendered the Treaties very difficult. *Rapin*, p. 658.

5. *Free Men of* London *may carry their Wares to any Fairs or Markets*, 3 Hen. VII. c. 9. †

6. *No Cloth* (above the Price of 40 *s.*) *ſhall be tranſported, until it be barbed, rowed, and ſhorn.* c. 11.

7. *Whoſoever ſhall ſell by Retail a broad Yard of the fineſt Scarlet grained, or other grained Cloth of the fineſt making above* 16 *s. or a broad Yard of any other coloured Cloth above* 11 *s.* &c. *ſhall forfeit forty Shillings for every Yard ſo ſold.* 4 Hen. VII. Ch. 8, ‖

8. *Wines and Woads ſhall not be brought but by* Engliſh *Ships* *.

9. *No*

† The Mayor and Aldermen, *&c.* of the City of *London* had made a *Monopoliſh Order*, *viz.* That no Freeman of the City ſhould uſe any Fair or Market out of the City with their Wares, to the Intent that all Perſons ſhould reſort thither to buy their Wares. In Conſideration of the Hurt likely to grow of and by the Premiſes, *this Act was made.*

‖ This, Lord *Verulam* ſays, 'was not preſcribing Prices, 'but ſtinting them not to exceed a Rate; that the Clothier 'might drape accordingly as he might afford.' See *Chap.* 18. §. 5. *Note.*

* 'Bowing, ſays Lord *Verulam*, the ancient Policy from 'Conſideration of Plenty to Conſideration of Power. For

'that

9. *No Person during ten Years shall buy, take, promise or bargain of any Wool that shall grow in* Berks, &c. *before the Assumption* [1] *of our Lady next after shearing thereof, but such as will make Cloth or Yarn thereof; nor any Merchant Stranger before the* Purification of our Lady, &c. c. 11. (*See* Ch. 12. §. 8. Ch. 15. §. 23.

[1] Aug. 15.

10. *The Penalty for decaying Houses of Husbandry, or not laying of convenient Land for the Maintainance of the same.* c. 19. ‡

Rapin, p. 671. 11. *A. D.* 1492. *Henry* laying before his Council Articles of Peace between him and the King of *France*, which had been settled by Commissioners on both Sides. They highly approve the same, and among other Things give for Reason, that *the Peace would secure the Commerce of the* English *Nation with* Flanders.

12. *A.D.* 1493. *Henry* taking just Umbrage at the Archduke *Philip*'s entertaining *Perkin Warbeck*, a Pretender to his Crown, broke off all Commerce with him, and banish'd all *Flemings* out of the Kingdom. The Archduke † did the like by the *English* who were in *Flanders*.

13. *A. D.*

'that almost all the ancient Statutes incite by all means 'Merchant Strangers to bring in all Sorts of Commodities, 'having, for End, Cheapness, and not looking to the Point 'of State concerning Naval Power.'

Lord *Verulam* adds, 'He made Statutes in this Parliament for the Maintenance of Drapery, and for keeping 'of Wools within the Realm.' As some Readers may be apt to understand hereby, that the *Exportation of Wool* was absolutely prohibited at this Time, it is necessary to observe, that the Statute of this Year, *cap.* 11. (see §. 9.) is what Lord *Verulam* alluded to, and which only gave the first Choice of a *Part*, not a Monopoly of *All* the *English* Wool, to native Manufacturers, for a Season; but left the other Part, and the Residue, to Strangers, in Benefit to the Grower and to the Revenue: which made a very wide Difference.

‡ Inclosures at this Time began to be more frequent.

† Lord *Verulam* says, 'For Form's sake by way of Requital, the Archduke did banish the *English* out of *Flanders*. But that King *Henry* recall'd his Subjects, and particularly the *Merchant Adventurers* (now first so called) (see §. 14. *Note*) out of his Dominions, translating the Mart (which commonly followed the *English* Cloth) from *Antwerp* to *Calice*.' *Here note*: Lord *Verulam* represents the

13. *A. D.* 1495. *Philip* being no longer under the Emperor's Guardianſhip, ſent about the end of this Year Ambaſſadors to *Henry*, to deſire the Renewal of the Commerce between *England* and the *Low Countries*. *Rapin*, p. 678.

A. D. 1496. The Ambaſſadors found no Difficulty to ſucceed in their Negotiation. So the 24th of *Feb.* a Treaty was concluded, called by the *Flemings*, *Intercurſus magnus* ‖.

14. *Merchant Adventurers.* 12 Hen. VII. c. 6. *.

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the Diſadvantage of this Breach to have been wholly on the Side of the *Flemings*, becauſe the *Mart commonly followed the* Engliſh *Cloth*. This indeed is a Sign that the *Engliſh* exported much Cloth at this Time; but from hence is not to be inferred, that foreign Merchants ſo readily followed thoſe of *England*, merely for the ſake of purchaſing *Engliſh Cloths*. BUT, as one Reaſon, *becauſe the* Engliſh *Merchants*, as conſiderable Venders of Wool and Cloth and other Staple Wares, had *wherewithal* to purchaſe the Commodities of other Countries from foreign Merchants in greater Quantities, and to an higher Value, than moſt other Nations *could*. (*See* Chap. 25. §. 4.)

‖ In explaining this Treaty, the Archduke deſiſted from the Duty of a *Florin*, which before he exacted upon every Piece of *Engliſh* Cloth that came into his Dominions. *Rapin*, p. 680.

Lord *Verulam* ſays, 'By this time the Interruption of 'Trade between the *Engliſh* and *Flemiſh* began to pinch 'the Merchants of both Nations very ſore. The King, 'who loved Wealth, tho' very ſenſible of this, yet kept 'State ſo far, as firſt to be ſought unto. Wherein the *Mer-'chant Adventurers* likewiſe (a ſtrong Company at that 'Time, and well underſet with rich Men and good Orders) 'did hold out bravely; taking off the Commodities of the 'Kingdom, tho' they lay dead upon their Hands for want 'of Vent.' Lord *Verulam*.

'This was a Law at the Suit of the *Merchant Adven-'turers* of *England* againſt the *Merchant Adventurers* of 'London, for monopolizing and exacting upon the Trade. 'The *Merchant Adventurers* of *London*, formerly known 'by the Name of the *Fraternity of St. Thomas of Canterbu-'ry*, had made an Ordinance (in Colour, it is to be pre-'ſum'd, of ſome ancient Grant or Charter, *&c.*) that no '*Engliſh* reſorting to the Marts abroad, ſhould ſell any 'Goods or Merchandizes without paying a Fine to the 'Merchants of *London*; which Fine, tho' originally but an 'old *Noble Sterling*, had been increaſed to an hundred Shil-'lings, Ibid.

15. *A. D.* 1502. A Treaty of Commerce with the Emperor *Maximilian.*

16. *That no Perſon bring or cauſe to be brought into the Realm, any manner of Silk wrought by itſelf, or with any other Stuff.* 19 Hen. VII. c. 21. ‡

Lord *Verulam.*

17. *A. D.* 1506. A Storm driving *Philip* of *Spain* and *Jane* his Queen into *England*, *Henry* made his Advantage of it, among other Things, to conclude a Treaty of Commerce, ſo much in Favour of the *Engliſh*, that the *Flemings* therefore termed it *intercurſus malus.*

18. *A. D.* 1507. *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, being ſent by her Father, the Emperor *Maximilian*, to govern in the *Low Countries*, upon her arrival at *Bruſſels*, ſhe concluded with *Henry* a proviſional Treaty of Commerce, till ſome Differences cauſed by the late Treaty between the Merchants of both Nations could be adjuſted.

Rapin, p. 705-6.

19. *A. D.* 1508. *December* the 10th, was ſigned the famous League of *Cambray*; of which the Emperor and the King of *France* were the Head, and to which the King of *Spain*, and ſeveral other Princes were Parties †.

CHAP.

'lings, and from thence to forty or fifty Pounds Sterling, 'and was by this Act limited not to exceed ten Marks.'

Lord *Verulam.*

‡ This Law is obſerved to point at a true Principle, 'That where foreign Materials are only Superfluities, fo-'reign Manufactures ſhould be prohibited: for that will 'either baniſh the Superfluity, or gain the Manufacture.' *This was a* Roman *Policy, as appears from the following Imperial Decree or Conſtitution:*

Conſtitutiones Imperatoriæ: de veſtibus externis prohibitis.

'Alterum vero illius Imperatoriæ providentiæ ſpecimen: 'quod cum videret Romanas divitias in peregrinas ac ſumptuoſas veſtes, ſericas, Aſſyrias, Babyloniças, &c. vario 'ac ſolerti artificio confectas effundi; decreto ſanxit ne quis 'ſubditorum iis uteretur, niſi ipſe quiſquis eſſet, cum omni familia in ordinem cogi, ac notari ignominia vellet: 'ſed iis contenti eſſent, quas Romanæ provinciæ ac manus 'præberent. Neceſſariarum enim rerum uſus eſt immutabilis: & ſubditi, quantum licet, principum ſequuntur cupiditates: idque lex eis eſt & honor, quod principibus viſum fuerit. Proinde cernere erat illa quoque breviſſimo 'tempore viluiſſe; nobilitatis autem limites Romanis veſtimentis definitos: & divitias domo, quod aiunt, domum 'ferri.'

† By which, under pretence of ſtopping the Progreſs of the *Turks* in *Europe*, it was agreed to diſpoſſeſs the *Venetians*

CHAP. XV.

HENRY *the Eighth.*

1. *THE ſeveral Duties of a Breaker, Kember, Carder, Spinner, Weaver, Fuller, Dyer, Clothier, and Aulnager, concerning true making, drawing and ſealing of Woolen Cloths.* 3 Hen. VIII. c. 6.

2. *An Act for perfect working of Cloths before they ſhall be carried out of the Realm.* ‡ c. 7.

3. *An Act for ſearching of unlawful Oyls.* c. 14. ‖

4. *An Act for true making Cloths* in Devon, *called white Straits.* 5 Hen. VIII. c. 2. †

5. *An Act concerning white Cloths, to be carried over Sea unſhorn.* c. 3. *

6. *An Act to avoid Deceits in Worſteds.* c. 4. ∴

7. *An Act concerning the true making of certain Woolen Cloths in the County of* Devon. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 8. **

8. *An Act avoiding Deceits in making Woolen Cloths.* c. 9. ‖‖

9. *None*

ans (a powerful Republic, in which the Woolen Manufacture flouriſhed, as alſo in other Parts of *Italy*) of all their Dominions, except the ſingle City of *Venice*, and to divide them between themſelves.

‡ This is the third Act for this End. The Exception for Cloths not exceeding 40*s.* is extended to thoſe of four Marks.

‖ Oils being uſed in the Woolen Manufacture, were, it ſeems, adulterated, ſo that this Act was chiefly to prevent Abuſes of that ſort.

† This Act directs the Length and Breadth, orders the Maker to affix his proper Mark, *viz.* ſuch as no other Maker uſes.

* This is the fourth of the kind. The Exception is extended from four to five Marks.

∴ None to be dry calendred.

** This is the fifth of *Hen.* VIII. c. 2.[r] (which was made but for one Year) continued, as being found convenient. And the ſame Regulations are alſo extended to another ſort, called Ruſſet Straits. [r] §. 4.

‖‖ This Act contains ſeveral Regulations of Abuſes, in ten Sections; and is not to extend to *Cornwall*, or Priſe made

9. *None ſhall carry beyond Sea any* Norfolk *Wool meet for making of Worſteds or Stammins, upon Pain of Forfeiture of* 40*s. for every Stone.* c. 12. †

10. *If any Perſon ſhall decay a Town, a Hamblet or Houſe of Husbandry, or convert Tillage into Paſture, the immediate Lord of the Fee ſhall have the Moiety of the offenders Land,* until the Offence be reformed. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

Rapin, p. 737. 11. *A. D.* 1517. There was this Year an Inſurrection of the *London* Apprentices againſt foreign Tradeſmen *.

12. *A. D.* 1519. The Emperor this Year received the News of the Diſcovery and Beginning of the Conqueſt of *Mexico* and *New Spain* ‡.

13. *A. D.*

made in *Wales*, *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*; which two laſt Places have not been mentioned in the Statute Books before, on occaſion of the Woolen Manufacture.

† Of this Act it is, that *Rapin* ſays (from Lord *Herbert*) 'It was provided, that *no unwrought Wool* ſhould be exported out of the Kingdom, for the Encouragement of 'the Woolen Manufacture.' Which if it be *only* underſtood of ſome of the *Wools* of *Norfolk*, is very true. But if he meant to ſay, that by this Act it was provided, that *no unwrought Wool* ſhould be exported out of any Part of the Kingdom, it is a direct Falſhood. And yet in this Senſe the Reader will be apt to underſtand him, as it is pretty plain he himſelf meant, and intended to be underſtood, by what follows, *viz.* 'This Act has been often revived by 'reaſon of its Importance; and yet even now an effectual 'Means is wanting to prevent the clandeſtine Exportation 'of Wool.' And therefore taking his Senſe from the whole put together, I note it among the many Inſtances of *falſe Hiſtory*, on this Subject, wanting to be corrected.

* 'The chief Author of it was one *John Lincoln*, a Bro-'ker: he drew up a Paper full of Complaints againſt the 'foreign Merchants, which he got Dr. *Bele*, a noted 'Preacher, to read in his Pulpit on *Eaſter Tueſday*; where-'upon the Mob aſſembled, and committed ſeveral Out-'rages.'

‡ By which Gold and Silver becoming more plentiful in *Europe*, Trade was greatly increaſed.

Lord *Herbert.* '*Hernando Cortes*, Undertaker of the Expedition to *A-'merica*, going in the Year 1518 with about 400 Foot and '15 Horſe, and ſeven little Field Pieces, into many po-'pulous

13. *A. D.* 1520. The Treaty and Commerce made between *England* and *Germany* in 1506 was confirmed. *Note* 7.

14. *A. D.* 1521. It being obſerved that there was a great Decay of Tillage and Husbandry, occaſioned by many Incloſures made by the Nobility and Gentry, who, within fifty Years had turned moſt of their Lands into Paſture, and kept them in their own Hands; from whence, among other Inconveniencies, it follow'd, that many Towns and Villages were depopulated, and the Prices of *Wool* and Meat were much enhaunced. To remedy this, the King revived the Statutes againſt Incloſures, &c. (*See* Ch. 14. §. 10.)

15. *A. D.* 1522. The *Imperialiſts* and *Engliſh* after having burnt and plundered ſeveral Villages in *Picardy* in *France*, took *fourteen Thouſand Sheep*. *Rapin*, p. 752. *Note* 8.

16. *No Perſon ſhall ſell to a Merchant Stranger any broad white Woolen Cloth made in* England, *unleſs he cannot ſell it to ſome* Engliſh *Merchant, within eight Days after brought to* Blackwell-Hall, * *except the Sale be in Fairs, Ports or Creeks.* 14, 15 Hen. VIII. c. 1. * Ch. 63.

17. *Touching Worſted Weavers of* Yarmouth *and* Lynn. 14, 15 Hen. VIII. c. 3. ‖

18. *Cloths made in* Suffolk, *called Veſſes or Set Cloths, not*

' pulous but diverſly affected Kingdoms, did ſo dextrouſly ' behave himſelf, that playing ſometimes the Part of an ' Ambaſſador, and ſometimes of a Soldier, he prevailed ' himſelf of all. And in Concluſion, notwithſtanding the ' Oppoſition of his Countrymen and Enemies, laid the Foun- ' dation of a greater Dominion, than any Man before him ' did.'

‖ This Act recites, that ſince 7 *Edw.* IV. ' the making of Worſteds, Saies, and Stammins had greatly increaſed in the City of *Norwich* and County of *Norfolk*; and that the ſame was now practiſed more buſily and diligently than in Times paſt, at *Yarmouth* and *Lynn*; and therefore in regard they were Towns Corporate, it allowed them, at their Requeſt, at each Place, a Warden of their own chuſing, to ſearch, ſeal, &c. ſubject nevertheleſs to the Juriſdiction of *Norwich* in that Caſe; and with this expreſs Reſtriction, that none ſhould ſhear, dye, or calendar, but in *Norwich*; and that no Perſon ſhould convey or tranſport beyond Sea any Manner of Clothes, before the ſame were ſhorn, dyed, coloured, and calender'd. ' Chap. 12. §. 10.

not being above the Value of 40*s. ſhall not be forfeited for lack of Length or Breadth, being wet.* c. 11. †

Rapin, p. 763. 19. *A. D.* 1525. It was repreſented to the Emperor that the *Flemings* had broken the Treaty of Commerce in ſeveral Articles.

Note 5. An Inſurrection in *Suffolk*, where the Weavers and other Artificers aſſembled out of *Laneham*, *Subdury*, *Hadley*, &c. to the Number of about 4000 *.

P. 770. 20. *A. D.* 1527. *Henry* having entered into a League offenſive and defenſive with *France*, it was agreed between the two Kings, that in caſe the Emperor rejected their Propoſals, or deferred his Anſwer, all Commerce ſhould be forbidden with his Subjects by both of them. And by a ſeparate Treaty, which concerned only Trade, the *French* King promiſed to give the *Engliſh* Merchants ſuch Privileges, as ſhould be agreed upon hereafter. ‖

P. 772.

21. A

† Theſe had been exempted in 3 *Hen.* VII. [u] but in 5 of *Hen.* VIII. [w] were forgot; to ſupply which Omiſſion was the Cauſe of this Act; which further ſays, that theſe particular Cloths were made *only for Exportation*.

[u] Ch. 14. §. 6.

[w] Ch. 15. §. 5.

* This may ſerve to give us a further Idea of the Numbers employed in Woolen Manufacture, in thoſe Parts, at that Time.

‖ A precarious Treaty indeed (ſuch as the *French* have been uſed to make.) But it is to be conſider'd, that *Woolſey*, the *Engliſh Miniſter*, was at this Time in *French Pay*.

P. 779. 'The People indeed did not approve his Meaſures; they 'openly exclaimed againſt a War, which was going to ruin 'the Kingdom, to gratify the Favourite's Paſſion: Nay, 'ſome went further than Murmurs. As the Trade with 'the *Low Countries* was interrupted by the Declaration of 'War, and the Merchants would buy no more Cloth, 'which they could not vend, the Clothiers roſe in Arms. 'Whereupon the *Cardinal* order'd the Merchants to buy 'the Cloths as uſual; threatning, in caſe of Refuſal, to 'buy them himſelf, and ſell them to Foreigners. But they 'made a Jeſt of his Threat, and continued obſtinate, reſolving not to render themſelves liable to inevitable Loſſes 'for his ſake.' *I deſire to obſerve two things here:*

1. The Dependance *England* had at this Time upon the Exportation of *Cloth*, contrary to what the Writers on this Subject generally have ſaid, dating that Branch of Trade no higher than the 12th of *Elizabeth*. 2. The Effects of

an

21. A Truce between *England* and *Flanders* for the Benefit of Trade. *Rapin*, p. 779.

22. *An Act for annulling of the Letters Patents made to the City of* York *concerning the ſhipping of Wools.* 21 Hen. VIII. c. 17. ‡

23. *No Perſons during ten Years next enſuing, ſhall buy any Wool growing in the Counties of* Berks *and* 28 *Counties, before the Aſſumption* [t] *of our Lady next after the ſhearing of the ſame; but ſuch as will make Cloth or Yarn thereof, upon Pain of forfeiting double the Value.* No Stranger ſhall buy any Wool before the Purification of our Lady next after the ſhearing thereof. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 1. †

[t] *Aug.* 15.

24. *Concerning the Number of Sheep one ſhould keep.* * 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

G 25. *An*

an Interruption of Commerce with the *Low Countries* at this Time, while the *Engliſh* Correſpondence lay chiefly there; namely, that the Merchants refuſed to buy the Cloth of the Clothiers; and why? Becauſe they could not vend them. But how does this agree with modern Sentiments about *Engliſh Wool* and *Engliſh Cloth*; that the one or the other is *neceſſary to all the World?*

‡ Tho' *York* was the Staple Town, *Hull* was the Port for tranſporting their Wares. By 27 Edw. III. c. 1.

† This Act [u] ſeems to have had ſo far a wiſe and equitable Intention, as 1. to give the Manufacturers the firſt Choice, at the firſt Hand, of a great Part of the Wool of *England*, without their becoming the Property of Jobbers. 2. To the End that the richeſt Manufacturers might not engroſs it too much from the poorer Sort, nor the Grower want a Market for his Wool in ſome reaſonable Time, nor be beat down in the Price thereof, *Merchant Staplers* as well as Manufacturers, were permitted to bargain for Wools, after the Aſſumption.

[u] Ch. 14. §. 9. Ch. 12. §. 8.

And laſtly, that all theſe together might not have it in their Power to exerciſe an abſolute Monopoly againſt the Grower; after the *Purification*, it was allowable for *Merchant Strangers* to buy and export Wool from theſe Counties as well as others. And yet there is Reaſon to think, that theſe, comparatively, ſmall Reſtraints, as tending ſo far towards a Monopoly, were a conſiderable Check to the Price of Wool in *England*. [See §. 24. *Note.*]

* *Viz.* No one more than 2000. But this with many Exceptions. The Statute by way of Reaſon, recites 'an advanced Price of all the Native Commodities 'in

'in the Kingdom. That ſome Perſons had at this Time 'vaſt Numbers of Sheep, which for Victual had riſen in 'Price from 2*s.* 4*d.* or at the moſt 3*s.* to 6*s.* or 5*s.* or '4*s.* at the leaſt; and a Stone of Clothing heretofore in 'ſome Shires accuſtomed to be ſold for 18*d.* or 20*d.* had 'riſen to 4*s.* or 3*s.* 4*d.* at leaſt. In others where it had 'been ſold for 2*s.* 4*d.* or 2*s.* 8*d.* or 3*s.* at the moſt, it 'was then ſold for 5*s.* or 4*s.* 8*d.* the leaſt.'

If we look back to the Prices of Wool in the 13*th and* 14*th of* Edw. III. *which was near* 200 *Years before,* (ſee Ch. 5. §. 9.) *the loweſt,* viz. *the Wools of* Cumberland *and* Weſtmerland, *were ſold for above* 2*s.* per *Stone, excluſive of the Duty, which was ſomething more than* 1*s.* 6*d.* per *Stone; and thoſe of* Salop, *at better than* 4*s.* 10*d.* per *Stone, in like manner. So that in Fact, there ſeems to have been at this Time, no Advance in the Price of Wool from the Time juſt mention'd: but very much the contrary, conſidering that the Shilling was then* 264 *Grains; at this Time, but* 118. *Nor was it any Advance from the cheap Price of which* H. Knygton *ſpeaks,* (ſee Ch. 8. §. 29.) *becauſe the Shilling was then* 213 *Grains. Much leſs was Wool dearer at this Time, than in the* 4*th of* Hen. VI. (See Chap. 11. §. 5. *Note.*) *The Price being then not only nearly equal to the higheſt Rate mention'd in this Act, but the Shilling then, at the loweſt, contained* 24 *Grains more than at the Time of this Act;* (ſee Ch. 4. P. S.) *and therefore we are to ſuppoſe the preſent Complaint concerning the Dearneſs of Wool, to have had reſpect to ſome intermediate later Times, in which the Price of Wool does not now appear; and which was probably occaſioned by the Monopoliſh Uſurpations of the Merchants of the Staple, and the Manufacturers. As to the Price of Victual, it will not be amiſs to inſert a little Piece of Hiſtory, which Biſhop* Fleetwood *takes from Mr.* Stow *in this preſent Year* 1533. It was this Year enacted, 'That Butchers ſhould ſell their 'Beef and Mutton by *Weight*: Beef for a *Half-penny* the 'Pound; and Mutton for *Three Farthings:* which being 'deviſed for the great Commodity of the Realm, (as it 'was thought) hath proved far otherwiſe. For at that 'Time (*i. e.* 1533.) fat Oxen were ſold for 26*s.* 8*d.* fat 'Weathers for 3*s.* 4*d.* fat Calves of the like Price; a fat 'Lamb for 12*d.* The Butchers ſold *Penny Pieces* of Beef, 'for the Relief of the Poor; every Piece two Pounds and 'an half, ſometimes three Pounds a Piece. And 13, ſome-'times 14 of theſe Pieces for 12*d.* Mutton 8*d.* the Quar-'ter, and 100 Weight of Beef for 4*s.* 8*d.* What Price it 'has grown to ſince, it needeth not to be ſet down. At 'this Time alſo, and not before, were foreign Butchers 'permitted to ſell their Fleſh in *Leaden-Hall* Market of 'London.'

Foreign Butchers.

25. *An Act for Clothiers in* Worceſterſhire. c. 18. ‖

26. *The Act for the true making of Cloth.* 27 Hen. VIII. c. 12. ‡

27. *For Cloths Whites of 4 l. and not above, and coloured Cloths of 3 l. and not above, to be carried over Sea, unbarbed and unſhorn.* c. 13. †

28. *For folding Cloths in* North Wales. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 3. *

'*London.*' I ſuppoſe by *Foreign* Butchers, he means ſuch as lived not, or had not ſerved their Apprenticeſhip in *London.* Chron. pret. p. 94.

‖ No Perſon ſhall make within the Shire of *Worceſter* 'any Woolen Cloth for Sale, except within the City of '*Worceſter*, the Towns of *Eveſham*, *Droitwich*, *Kidder-*'*minſter*, and *Bromeſgrove*. The Owners of Tenements 'within the ſaid City and Towns, ſhall at no Time let any 'Tenement ſufficiently repaired, to any Perſons inhabiting 'therein, and exerciſing any of the Crafts relating to the 'Woolen Manufacture, at any higher Rent than was given 'for the ſame within twenty Years next before.

N. B. *Theſe are Names of Places, which tho' they have not before occurr'd in the Statute Book, as employed in the Woolen Manufacture; yet this Act repreſents it to have been of long ſtanding there; and, which is an Argument of it's ſpreading ſtill wider and wider, ſays, it had within a few Years paſt crept into the Villages of that County. And tho' it does inſinuate, that the City of* Worceſter, *and Towns abovemention'd, were hereby depopulated; yet the Clauſe againſt advancing the Rents of Tenements within the ſame, is a ſtrong Proof to the contrary, as alſo of a prevalent Spirit of Monopoly.*

‡ This Act recites, 'That great Infamy and Slander had 'of late Years riſen, in ſundry Out Parts *beyond the Sea*, of 'the untrue making of Woolen Cloths within this Realm: 'For Remedy whereof it was enacted, *&c.*

† By 5 *Hen.* VIII. no Woolen Cloth above the Price of five Marks ſhould be conveyed over the Sea unrowed, *&c.* By *this Act*, the Limitation is extended to Cloths white of 4 *l.* or dyed, of 3 *l.* And the Reaſon aſſigned is, that *Wools were ſo much advanced*, that a Cloth (5 *Hen.* VIII.) ſold for five Marks, was become worth 4 *l.*

* 'Welſh Cloths in *North Wales* and *Oreſter* Hundred, 'called, *&c.* ſhall be folded as the Cloths of other Coun-'tries.' *The Statute recites*, 'That they had been uſed to 'be ſo craftily and hard rolled together, that the Buyer 'could not perceive the untrue making thereof.'

29. *A Bill for Worſted Yarn in* Norfolk. c. 16. ‖

30. *The Bill for making Coverlets in* York. 34-5 Hen. VIII. c. 10. ‡

31. *The Weight, Length, Breadth and Goodneſs of* Welch *Frizes and Cottons made in the Shires of* Caermarthen, Cardigan *and* Pembroke *in* Wales, *and the Forfeiture for Default thereof.* c. 11.

32. *An Act for certain Ordinances in the Principality of* Wales. c. 26. †

33. *No Perſon other than Merchants of the Staple, and their Servants and Factors, to be ſhipped only* to the Staple, *and other than ſuch as ſhall convert the ſame into Yarn, Cloth,* &c. *(and not to ſell again) ſhall buy or take Promiſe of Bargain of any Wools of the growing in the Shires of*

‖ *This Act ſays,* 'That Worſted Yarn is the private 'Commodity of the City of *Norwich,* and County of *Norfolk, i. e.* ſpun of the Wool growing, and of Sheep bred 'only within the County of *Norfolk,* and in *no Place elſe-* 'where;' and therefore enacts, That none ſhall be tranſported, or ſhipped to be tranſported, nor bought, nor cauſed to be bought by any but Weavers in the ſaid City or County. *Hence we learn not to give entire Credit always to the Preamble of an Act of Parliament, nor to be ſurprized to find Perſons on this Subject, moved by ſome Proſpect of Gain, aſſerting Things very remote from Truth.*

‡ *This Act recites,* 'That the City of *York* afore this 'Time hath been upholden principally by making and 'weaving of Coverlets, and the Poor thereof daily ſet on 'work in ſpinning, carding, dying, weaving, *&c.* con-'cerning the making of them, and that the ſame have not 'been made elſewhere in the ſaid County till of late, that 'this Manufacture had ſpread itſelf into other Parts of the 'County, and was thereby debaſed and diſcredited;' and therefore after ordaining ſome Regulations as to the Aſſizes thereof, it is enacted, That none ſhall make Coverlets in *Yorkſhire,* but Inhabitants of the City of *York.*

† *Ordinance* 121 *recites,* 'That the King in the 24th of 'his Reign had demiſed to *William Webbe* the Subſidy and 'Aulnage of all Woolen Cloths made, or to be made, in the 'County of *Monmouth,* and in the twelve Shires of *Wales,* 'for a certain Term of Years then enduring,' ſays how much he ſhall take for ſealing each Particular, whether *Frize, Cotton, Lining, Broad Cloth, Kerſey, &c.* But that the ſame made within the Owners Houſes for their own Uſe, and not for Sale, ſhall not be ſubject to thoſe Payments.

of Kent, *or* 27 *Shires, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the double Value thereof; but every Perſon may bring his own Wool to the Market and ſell it.* No Perſon ſhall buy or bargain for Wool for any Merchant Stranger, upon Pain of Forfeiture thereof. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15. *

CHAP.

* By comparing this with 22 Hen. VIII. c. 1. (*See* §. 23.) it will appear, that the Merchants of the Staple had acquired once more by this [y] Statute, not only a Monoply of all *Wools* to be *exported*, but that they were the only Perſons allow'd to buy Wool within the Shire of *Kent* and 27 Shires, except immediate Manufacturers; which was another Inſtance of Monopoly obtained againſt the poorer Sort of Manufacturers, conſequently in that reſpect alſo againſt the Grower too, but which therefore we ſhall ſoon find in Part repealed. (*See* 1 Edw. VI. c. 6. [a] *and* 2, 3 Phil. *and* Mary [a] c. 13.)

[y] Ch. 11. §. 23, 31. Chap. 12. §. 1.

[a] Ch. 16. §. 1. *Note.*

By this Act an effectual Stop ſeems to have been intended to the Merchants of *Italy*, particularly, buying *Wool* in *England*, which not only from ancient Times had been practiſed, but encouraged [z], tho' not without conſtant Envy and frequent Attempts of Interruption. This was juſt as Parties happened to prevail.

Chap. 18. §. 7. *Note.*

[z] Chap. 9. §. 3, 12. Ch. 11. §. 17, 19.

The Reaſons for encouraging them were, ſeemingly, to preſerve a double Market, in order to a better Price, for the native Commodities of the Kingdom, againſt the *Merchants of the Staple*, whoſe never-ceaſing Views were, to engroſs and monopolize; and alſo to prevent the Nation being exacted upon in the Price of foreign Commodities by other Merchants dealing from *Antwerp*, to which they were not a little prone. The *Italians* brought Silks, Velvets, Wines, &c. taking in Return, *Wool*, and other Staple Wares. For which Wool and other Staple Wares, the *Merchants of the Staple* would have *Calice* to be the only Mart, and themſelves the ſole Venders thereof abroad, conſequently the only Purchaſers at Home for *Exportation*, and likewiſe, in a great meaſure, for *Uſe*, and, in that Caſe, as it muſt needs be, at *their own Prices*. Accordingly it may be obſerved from the foregoing Hints of Antiquity, ſhort and imperfect as they are, that Wool in particular conſtantly roſe and fell in Price, juſt as the *Landed*, or Mercantile, Intereſt prevailed in the Nation; the former, for a free and enlarged Market; the latter, for a more circumſcribed and limited Trade. This was Matter of frequent Striſe; in which the Merchants and Manufacturers (as being the more united Bodies, acting moſt in Concert, and more intent upon their

CHAP. XVI.

EDWARD *the Sixth.*

1. *THE Bill for the Continuance of making Worsted Yarn in* Norfolk. 1 Edw. VI. c. 6. ‖

2. *A*

own particular private Gain, than the Nobility and Gentry of *England* commonly have been for their own and the general public Good) for the most part carried their Points. But *here note*, That tho' some of the *Venetian* Merchants, and of other States in *Italy*, chose to deall directly to *England* rather than to *Antwerp*, which was the most general Mart of *Europe*; we are not thence to conclude that it was altogether for the sake of purchasing *English Wool*. That Country itself (y History both ancient and modern will tell us) did, and doth, produce good Wool in some Plenty; not only so, but *Asia* and *Spain*, which are much nearer to *Italy*, have always afforded *better Wool*, the latter especially, than that of *England*. And therefore it is to be supposed, that it was chiefly for the sake of vending their own Commodities, that the *Italians* courted an Intercourse directly with *England*, and which *England* for the like Reasons (*i. e.* for vending their Commodities) embraced, as often as the true Interest of the Nation was pursued.

y Chap. 2, §.

P. S. *There does not appear to have been any Tax or Subsidy of Wool during this whole Reign of* Henry VIII. That is, there is no express Mention made of it, as in other Reigns, either in the *English* History, or the Statute Books. But as it had been from *Edw.* IV. constantly tacked to the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, for Term of Life; And as *Stephens*, in his History of Taxes, (p. 180.) says of *Henry* VIII. '*Tonnage he had and Poundage once for a Year; and after for Term of Life*;' so it is not probable that the Subsidy of Wools was intermitted; it is more likely to have been continued the same as in *Hen.* VII. (*See* Chap. 14. §. 3.)

‖ By this Act, the 33d of *Hen.* VIII. c. 16.[z] for prohibiting the Exportation of Yarn, is made perpetual. And a Clause of 37 *Hen.* VIII. c. 15. (by which the buying of Wool (in *Kent* and twenty-seven Shires) was restrained to the *Merchants of the Staple* and *Manufacturers only*) is in Part repealed; *viz.* so far as that every Person dwelling in *Norwich* and *Norfolk* may by themselves, or Agents, buy Wool of the Growth of that County, and retail it out in

z Ch. 15. §. 29.

a Ch. 15. §. 33.

open

2. *A Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage granted to the King during his Life.* c. 13. †

3. *A. D.* 1549. The Proprietors of Land, finding ſince the laſt Peace with *France*, the Woolen Trade flouriſhed, took to breeding Sheep. To that End, they cauſed their Grounds to be incloſed. This occaſioned numberleſs Complaints and Murmurs among the common People. But the Nobility and Gentry ſtill continued the ſame Courſe, without regarding the Conſequences. In the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, the Lords paſſed an Act for giving every one Leave to incloſe his Ground if he pleaſed. But the Bill was thrown out by the Commons; and yet the Lords and Gentlemen went on incloſing their Lands. This bred an univerſal Diſcontent. The common People inflamed and animated by the Prieſts, the ſuppreſſed Monks, and thoſe who were ſtill addicted to the *Romiſh* Religion, roſe in ſeveral Counties, and particularly in *Norfolk*. The ſeditious there ſending their Complaints to the King, the Council anſwered in his Name. 'That touching their particular 'Complaints for reducing Lands and Farms to their 'ancient Rents; altho' it could not be done by his ordi- 'nary Power, without a Parliament, yet he would ſo 'far extend his Authority Royal, as to give Charge to 'his

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 15.

Sir *J. Hayward*'s Life and Reign of *Edw.* VI. 1549.

open Market. *The Reaſon aſſigned for this, in the Act, is,* 'That almoſt the whole Number of poor Inhabitants of the 'County of *Norfolk* and City of *Norwich* had been uſed to 'get their Living by ſpinning of *Norfolk Wool*; which they 'uſed to purchaſe by eight Pennyworth or twelve Penny- 'worth at a time, ſelling the ſame again in Yarn.' And becauſe the Grower choſe not to parcel it out in ſuch ſmall Quantities, therefore for the Benefit of the Poor, the Statute of 37 *Hen.* VIII. c. 15. was ſo far forth repealed. *Note*, This ſhows the Uſe and Neceſſity of Wool Staplers, a ſort of Dealers, which the richer Manufacturers, for monopoliſh Reaſons, have often attempted to ſuppreſs.

† The Subſidy from Wool was 33*s.* 4*d.* the Sack, of Denizens; and of that exported by Strangers, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* And therefore by this Act, I take the Clauſe 37 *Hen.* VIII. againſt Merchant Strangers (ſee Chap. 15. §. 33.) to be repealed, virtually at leaſt. And this probably was one of the Reaſons why Wool advanced in a few Years to a better Price than the Clothiers thought well of.

'his Commiſſioners to travel with all Perſons within 'their Counties, to reduce Lands to their former Rents, 'whereat they were farmed forty Years before; and 'that Rents ſhould be paid at *Michaelmas* then next en-'ſuing, according to that Rate.

'Concerning their Complaint for *Price* of *Wools*, he 'would forthwith give Orders, that his Commiſſioners 'ſhall cauſe Clothiers to take Wools, paying only two 'Parts of the Price, whereat they were commonly ſold 'the Year next before; and for the other third Part, 'the Owner and Buyer ſhould ſtand to ſuch Order as 'the Parliament ſhould appoint.' *

4. *A. D.* 1550. An Ambaſſador arrived from *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, and concluded a Treaty of Commerce with *England*.

5. *An*

* The Reformation of Religion and the Diſſolution of Monaſteries was, no doubt, one great Cauſe of the general Murmurings at this Time. But more than that, the labouring Part of the People perceived themſelves to be pinched, and could not tell what to attribute it to, with more Plauſibility, than to Incloſures. And ſo much is true, that in Conſequence thereof, Rents were raiſed, and Corn probably was dearer, and Labourers in Huſbandry had for the preſent, leſs Employment. But Dearneſs of Wool we find alſo to have been equally a Topic of Complaint; and this could not be a Conſequence of Incloſures; yet this Circumſtance we find to have operated, as much as any, towards theſe Inſurrections, which, it is to be obſerved, were chiefly in the Clothing Counties. But the principal real Grievance at this Time, of the poorer Manufacturers, they don't appear to have been ſenſible of, (and Hiſtorians ſince have overlooked it) which was, the State of the Coin. A Shilling, at this Time, contained but 40 Grains of Silver; ſo was not equal to one of our preſent Sixpences. This debaſing of the Coin, which was now of near five Years ſtanding, had undoubtedly given a nominal Advance to all things vendible; and tho' perhaps to Wages too, yet probably nothing near in proportion to the Difference of the Coin. And as the Money in which they were paid, not containing half the Silver as ſome little Time before, would not purchaſe half the Neceſſaries of Life as it was wont to do; that, in courſe, muſt needs have bore hard upon the lower Sort of People eſpecially, who had every thing to buy, and nothing to ſell, beſides their Hand-Labour.

5. *An Act for the true making of Woolen Cloths.* 3-4 Edw. VI. c. 2. †

6. *An Act for the true making of Woolen Cloths.* 5-6 Edw. VI. c. 6. ‖

7. What Persons may buy and sell Wool, and who not, and at what times. ‡ c. 7.

8. *An Act limiting what Persons shall weave or make broad Woolen Cloth.* * c. 8.

9. *An Act for making of Hats, Dornecks and Coverlets in* Norwich *and* Norfolk. c. 24.

10. *A. D.* 1552. In these Times, it was conceived by many, that by erecting a Mart in *England*, or rather Marts, one at *Southampton*, the other at *Hull*, the Realm would be much enriched. Long Considerations were had about it. And in the End, the Thing was concluded upon. But 1552. Sir *J. Hayward's* Life and Reign of *Edw.* VI.

† Describing sundry Abuses, and for Reformation of the same, in 15 Sections.

‖ Consisting of no less than 53 Sections, and shewing as well the vast Extent of, and Improvements in, the Woolen Manufacture, as the Increase of Abuses therein. It speaks of it in *Kent*, *Sussex*, and the Town of *Reading*; at *Coventry* and *Worcester*; in *Suffolk*, *Norfolk* and *Essex*, *Wiltshire*, *Gloucestershire* and *Somersetshire*; *Devonshire*, *Taunton*, *Bridgewater*, *Wales*; of *Northern* Cloths, *Manchester*, *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*.

‡ This Act not printed.

* Persons who have been Apprentice to the Occupation, or who have been exercised or practised in and with the same, for the Space of seven Years.

This Act recites, 'That the Manufacture of those 'particular Goods had been lately set up within the City 'of *Norwich*; since which, Persons not legally qualified 'for the same within the City, had withdrawn themselves 'into certain Towns nigh and about the same, and there 'followed that Occupation.' And *therefore* it provided, that 'no Person who had not served seven Years Appren-'ticeship to these Businesses in the City or County, should 'follow the same, unless licensed so to do, by the Mayor, 'Recorder, Steward, and two Justices of the Peace of the 'City of *Norwich*, or by four of them. And that no 'Person should follow the said Occupations, out of a Cor-'poration or Market Town, except within the Town of '*Pulham*.'

But the Execution was delayed, because ‖ the Wool *Fleet* of Sixty Sail was lately before departed for *Antwerp*, and could not possibly be called back. The King's Sickness next protracted the Design; and his Death put an End to the Project.

Burnet.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Merchants of the Stillyard.

1. *A. D.* 1552. About this Time, the Corporation of *German* Merchants, who lived in the *Stillyard*, ‡ was dissolved, because it was become detrimental to *England*, by engrossing the whole Woolen Trade. It was proved that the *Stillyard* Men in the Year 1551, shipped 44000 Cloths, and all the *English* Merchants together did not export above 11000. The Regent of *Flanders* and the City of *Hamburgh*, earnestly sollicited to have the Company restored, but it was to no Purpose. * 2. Sir

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 24, 25.

‖ It is not certain that this Fleet, perhaps anciently so called, was now freighted entirely with Wool; the contrary is more probable; it being certain that Cloth now, notwithstanding the allowed Exportation of Wool, made a considerable Article in the *English* Trade, as may be seen in the following Chapter.

‡ *See* Chap. 12. §. 18.

* 'Henry the Third had been much supported in his Wars by the Assistance he received from the free Towns in *Germany*; in Recompence whereof, he gave them great Privileges in *England*; they were made a Corporation, and liv'd together in the *Stillyard* near the *Bridge*. They had gone sometimes, particularly in the Reign of *Edward* IV. beyond their Charters; which were thereupon judg'd to be forfeited; but by great Presents they purchased new ones. They traded in a Body, and so ruined others by underselling them. Trade was now risen much. Courts began to be more magnificent; so there was a greater Consumption of Cloth than formerly. † *Antwerp* and *Hamburgh*

Burnet, tom. 2. p. 207.

Strype, tom. 2. p. 5.

† *About the Year* 1550, *it was a common thing to see* 2500 *Ships in the* Scheld *laden with all sorts of Merchandize.* Memoirs of the *Dutch* Trade, *p.* 12.

2. Sir *John Haywood* in his Life and Reign of Edw. VI. gives somewhat a more distinct Account of this Matter. He says, 'the *English* Merchants exhibited a Bill at the Council Table against the Merchants of the *Stillyard*. After Answer by those of the *Stillyard* and Reply by the Adventurers, it was conceived, upon view of divers Charters, that the Merchants of the *Stillyard* were no sufficient Corporation, and their Numbers, Name and Nation, could not be known.' Also that when they had forfeited their Liberties, King Edw. VI. restored them upon Condition that they should cover no Strangers Goods; which they had not observed. And whereas at the Beginning, they shipped not above 80 Cloths, after that 100, after that 1000, after that 6000: At that Time 44000 Cloths were shipped in their Names every Year, and not above 1100 by *all Strangers besides*. Life of Edw. VI. 1552.

The material Difference between the two Accounts of *Rapin* and Sir *John Haywood* is, the former says, 'That the *Stillyard* Company exported in the last Year (viz. 1551) 44000 Cloths, and all the *English* Merchants together, not above 1100.' According to which Account, I conceive it is to be understood, that the whole *English* Woolen Exportation amounted, in that Year, to 45,100 Cloths, and *no more*. Whereas by the latter, there was exported that Number of Cloths by them and other Foreigners every Year, *over and above what was exported by the* English *Merchants*; which makes a wide Difference in the State of the *English* Cloth Trade at this Time.

3. Now the Merchant Adventurers, particularly, not only long before this had been, † but at this very Time were,

'*Hamburgh* had then the chief Trade in these Parts of the World; and their Factors in the *Stillyard* (so called from the Steel imported by them) had all the Markets of *England* in their Hands, and set such Prices both on what they imported and exported, as they pleased; and broke all other Merchants. Whereupon the *Merchants Adventurers* complained of them; and after some Hearings, it was adjudged, that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was dissolved.'

† See Chap. 14. §. 13, 14.

were, a numerous and rich Company ‖, and therefore considering how great a Share that of Cloth then bore in the Trade of *England*; and that this Company professedly traded in Cloth chiefly, it is utterly improbable, that they did not ordinarily export at that Time, vastly more than their Parts of 1100 Cloths, as according to *Rapin*.

P. 10. 4. *Wheeler* speaking of this Company and that particular Branch of their Trade in the Time of Hen. VII. says, 'Whereas also the *Easterlings*, meaning the Merchants of the *Stillyard*, at this Time had entered into the said Trade, the prudent Prince Hen. VII. did not only straightly inhibit them so to do, but also took Recognizance of twenty thousand Marks of the Alderman of the *Stillyard* at *London*, that the said *Easterlings* should not carry any *English* Cloth to the Place of Residence of the Merchant Adventurers in the *Low Countries*, or open their Fardelles of Cloth in the said Countries, to the Prejudice of said Company, by putting the same to Vent there.' But indeed it appears by the Decree, made against them, that they had not observed even this Condition. What follows will serve to make this whole Affair more intelligible.

[a] See the Decree. *Wheeler*, p. 132-5.

Wheeler, p. 87. 5. Among other Privileges granted to these *German* Merchants in *England*, one was, that they might carry out and bring in their Wares and Merchandizes, for an old Custom of *one and a Quarter* upon the Hundred, and thereby were exempt from all personal and real Charge

‖ *Wheeler* *, who was Secretary to the Company, in his Treatise of Commerce, published in 1601, (p. 154-5) tells, how that in *September* 1549, (which was but two Years before this Complaint) when King *Philip* of *Spain* came to take Possession of the *Low Countries*, 'Master *John Sturgeon*, at that Time Governor of the Company, was at the receiving in of the said Prince, accompanied with thirty Merchants of the Company on Horseback, all richly equipped, and handsomely attended, nothing inferior to the Merchants of other Nations, namely, the *Germans*, *Easterlings*, *Italians*, *Spaniards* and *Portugalles*, and surmounting some of them in costly Apparel, &c. whereby they wanne great Honour and Commendation to themselves and the whole *English* Name.'

☞ * In 1601. *This Writer reckons the Number of the Company of* Merchants Adventurers *to be not less than* 3500. (*See* Ch. 25. §. 4.)

Charge or Contribution, which all other Merchants were ſubject unto, ſave that in time of Need, they were enjoined to repair and help to keep one of the Gates of *London* called *Biſhopſgate*. Now this ſingle Circumſtance of their paying but *one and a Quarter* upon the Hundred, accounts for their doing all that was alledged againſt them, and for their final Diſſolution; it accounts for their engroſſing a large Share of Trade to themſelves, and alſo for their Colluſion with other Merchants and colouring their Goods with their Names, to the Injury of the Revenue and of fair Traders.

6. For that they had increaſed their Exportations from 80 to 44000 Cloths *per Ann.* was in itſelf no Crime. But their particular Privileges, in Point of Cuſtom beyond other Merchants, both Strangers and Denizens, certainly was an Objection, ſuch as the Merchants would be apt to make, and ſuch as the State would readily give an Ear to. But as the Diſſolution of this *German* Company is ſaid to be, and certainly was, procured by the *Merchants Adventurers*, ſo we may be well aſſured that they brought it about by means of their *Numbers*, *Riches* and *Power*, and not by their *Poverty*. But how they could be numerous and rich, as Merchants, and particularly (which profeſſedly they were) as Cloth-Merchants, without exporting largely, is inconceivable. *P. S. Note.*

7. And therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that either the whole annual Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from *England*, about the Year 1551, was ordinarily more than to the amount of 45100 Cloths; and that there was ſome Management on the Part of the *Merchants Adventurers*, in witholding their uſual Exportations for the Space of that one Year, in order to furniſh a better Handle of Complaint againſt the *Stillyard* Merchants, for the ſake of compaſſing their intended Purpoſes againſt them; or elſe the *Merchants Adventurers* for the ſaving of Duty, were guilty of colouring their own Goods under the Names of Merchants of the *Stillyard*; and ſo were at the ſame Time Complainants and Aggreſſors both. And this is not very improbable, altho' it was only objected to the Merchants of the *Stillyard*, that they coloured other, *Strangers* Goods.

8. However that was, whether the Eſtimate was taken from the known Exportations of that Period upon a Medium,

a Medium, or only from the particular Account which had appear'd the Year before: In *Burleigh's State Papers* we find as follows,

Burleigh's State Papers.

* P. 127.

Provisions for Payments.

'Uncerten. *Imprimis*, Of the Merchants Adventurers to be borrowed upon their Cloths 30,000 *l.* '1 *December.*'

For the Devise to pay the Dett at November.

'To procure the Prest upon every Cloth now going 'out of the Realm; which if they come in *Nombre* to '40000 *l.* having twenty Shillings upon the Cloth, 'cometh to 40,000 *l.* if one Mark, 40,000 Marks.' ‡

P. S. *Thus* * *we perceive, contrary to what we shall find frequently asserted by Persons attempting the History of the* English *Woolen Manufacture, that from* Edw. III. *it had been a growing Business, and that the Exportation of Cloth, for some Ages, had been, and now was, very considerable. And here therefore may be noted an Error in this particular, of two illustrious foreign Historians, who have been quoted by some of our modern Writers* * *in this Case,*

* Ch. 12. §. 6, 8, 10, 14. Chap. 14. §. 9, 12. *Note.* Chap. 15. §. 20. *Note.* §. 25. *Note.* Chap. 16. §. 6. *Note.* Chap. 17.

‡ 'Because the King was to make Payment of 48000 *l.* 'beyond the Seas, and had but 14000 *l.* towards the Sum, 'three hundred of the chief Merchant Adventurers granted 'to him a Loan of 40,000 *l.* for three Months, to be levied 'from the Cloths, which they were then to transport, af'ter the Rate of 20 *s.* for every Cloth. But these Adven'turers went not upon any Adventure, because at that 'shipping 40,000 Broad Cloths were by them transported. b *Hence it should seem, that the whole annual Exportations of Cloth from* England, *did about this Time far exceed* 45100 *Cloths*; and also that the Merchant Adventurers had the Year before with-held their usual Exportations, as above conjectured (§. 7.)

b Sir *John Hayward*, 1552.

* *Grotius*, of the Reigns of King *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth*, says, 'At that Time the Pastures of *Bri*'*tain*, with the only Produce of their Wool, did almost 'answer all Importations from foreign Parts; although no'thing was fetched out of the Island, but RAW WOOL in 'the FLEECE.'

A Method —— *in order to re-establish the Woolen Manufacture of* England, &c. By Mr. *Lowndes*. 1745. p. 13, 14.

Caſe, and whoſe Authority has probably miſled many others; I mean Grotius † *and* Thuanus ‖. *Theſe two eminent Perſons date the Beginning of the* Engliſh Woolen Trade *low as the middle of the ſixteenth Century; till which Time, they repreſent the Bulk of the People of* England *as only Shepherds and Husbandmen, and the* Engliſh Merchants, *as mere Exporters of* raw Wool.

CHAP.

† *Grotius* ſpeaking of the original Differences between the *Engliſh* and *Germans*, gives for Hiſtory as follows:

'Originem ejus Certaminis, quando Belgicas partes eventu attigit, altius ordiar. Proximis ſeculis ſumma mercaturæ Germanicas penes civitates fuit. Nec tantum —— ſed & Londini forum poſuere: ubi poſtquam fide & utilitate claruerant, permiſſum à regibus ut modico vectigali res venales commutarent. Sed eo etiam tempore paſcuus Britanniæ ager *prope ſolo lanitii proventu externis advectionibus reſpondebat; nec rudia præter vellera* quicquam ex Inſula petebatur, DONEC Belgæ domeſtica pertæſi mala, & diverſis de cauſis exſules, ut alia alias gentes, *ita purgandæ inficiendæque lanæ uſum* ANGLOS *docuere*. EDVARDI *id principatu contigit*, qui intentus novi quæſtus partem ad ærarium trahere, ſentiebat ſe Anſiaticis pactionibus impediri. Quæſitis igitur criminibus quæ olim conceſſa eriperentur, Britanni cuncta evertere, &c.

'—— Hinc Invidia & ad Imperatorem querelæ.' *Grotius de rebus Belg. lib. 7. p. 307, 308.*

‖ *Thuanus* yet wider from the Truth.

'In Belgio Albanus rebus feliciter bello geſtis, ubi initio anni Bruxellas rediit, de novis Epiſcopis ubique conſtituendis, & Inquiſitionis telo in ſuſpectos ſtringendo cogitare cepit, citatiſque ad concilium ſanguinarium, quod vocant, pleriſque, multos terrore injecto ſolum vertere coegit: opificibuſque quibus Belgium ſupra cunctas orbis provincias abundat ſtatim ob placitorum ſeveritatem dilabentibus, ingens vaſtitas ubique & triſtis rerum facies apparuit. Britannia proxima illis perfugium fuit, quo exules ſecum pannorum texturam intulerunt & eam *Anglos antea agriculturæ & pecuariæ ſolum deditos* magna Belgici opificii jactura docuerunt, tantoque numero in inſulam confluxerunt ut urbes aliquot infrequentes ac pene deſolatas, ac *Norwicam* [c] præcipue, Colcheſtram, Maidſtonum, Sandwicham, Hamptonum, & alias inſtaurarint.' *Thuanus, lib. 46. [b] 1569.*

[c] Ch. 11. §. 24. Chap. 12. §. 10. *Note.* Chap. 16. §. 1. *Note.* §. 9. *Note.* Chap. 18. §. 4. *Note.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Queen MARY: PHIL. *and* MARY.

1. A Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage. 1 *M. Sess.* 2. c. 18. *

2. *An Act touching Cloth making in Corporate Towns and Market Towns.* Sess. 3. c. 7. †

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 36.

3. *A. D.* 1554. *The Queen suspends the Act against the* German *Merchants.*

4. An Act for making of Russets, Sattins, Sattins-Reverses and Fustians of *Naples* in *Norwich* ‖. 1, 2 *Phil.* and *Mary*, c. 14.

5. *An*

Stephens's History of Taxes, p. 237.

* The Subsidy of Wools therein included, and the same as in *Ed.* VI. except as to Denizens made, or to be made, who were to pay 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Sack for Wool; in like manner as Merchant Strangers.

N. B. *By this we may conceive, that Merchants of the Staple lost a Privilege as Denizens, which they had enjoyed without Interruption, from* Ed. IV. *of being, tho' not the sole, yet the chief Exporters of* Wool; *and that the Custom on* Wool exported *was, in effect, raised to twice as much as before, from* Ed. IV. *it had been. For while Denizens had it in their Power to export Wool, paying but half the Custom as Strangers did, it is to be imagined, that, excepting what passed the* Streights, *the greatest Part of the* Wool exported *went through their Hands. But the Value of Money being now much altered from what it was in* Ed. IV. *and the Woolen Manufacture in* England *being also much increased, this Advance of Custom, on Denizens exporting* Wool, *became not only more reasonable, but, if it did not amount to a Prohibition, answered all beneficial Purposes to the* English *Woolen Manufacture, as well as, or better than, a Prohibition ever has done, or can do.* See c. 26. §. 6.

[d] Ch. 16. §. 8. *Note.*

† This Act repeals that of 5, 6 *Ed.* VI. c. 8. [d] By which no Persons were permitted to make broad Cloth, who had not been Apprentices to the Occupation, or &c. for seven Years: and permits the making of such Cloth to all Persons inhabiting Market Towns, provided the same be substantially made, bearing lawful Length, Breadth, &c. according to the Statute 5 *Ed.* VI. c. 6.

‖ These were certain Sorts of Woolen Goods, which, the Acts says, 'Had been used to be made abroad of *Ex-*

'*glish*

5. *An Act touching Weavers.* 2-3 *Phil.* and *Mary*, c. 11. ‡

6. *An*

'gliſh Wools, and then imported into, and worn within the 'Kingdom, to the Injury of its Trade and Manufacture, 'particularly that of the City of *Norwich*. For Remedy 'whereof certain Perſons, *viz.* the Mayor and others of 'that City, to the Number of twenty-one Perſons, had 'been at the Expence of procuring Strangers ſkilled in that 'Work, and alſo of making of Looms, and all other Pro-'viſions for the ſame;' and having made ſome Progreſs in the Buſineſs, were hereby made a Fellowſhip or Company, and Body Corporate, with ſeparate Laws and Privileges.

‡ This Act recites, 'That the rich and wealthy Clo-'thiers did oppreſs the poor Weavers, 1. By ſetting up and 'keeping in their Houſes divers Looms. 2. By engroſſing 'Looms into their Hands, and letting them out at high 'Rents. 3. By lowering their Wages.' Therefore enact-ed, 'That no *Clothier* out of a Borough, Market Town, 'or Corporate Town, ſhall have above one Loom. No '*Weaver* dwelling out of a City, *&c.* ſhall have above two 'Looms. No Weaver ᵉ ſhall be either Tucker, Fuller, or ᵉ Ch. 48. 'Dyer. No Fuller or Tucker ſhall keep a Loom. No §. 9, 10. 'Perſon ſhall cauſe any white broad Woolen Cloths to be 'made, but in a City, *&c.* or where ſuch Cloths have 'been made for the ſpace of ten Years before. No Wea-'ver dwelling out of a City, *&c.* ſhall have above two 'Apprentices at one time. None ſhall ſet up Weaving, un-'leſs he have been Apprentice to, or have exerciſed the 'ſame ſeven Years. This Act ſhall not extend to *York*, '*Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*.'

And what are all theſe but ſo many Evidences of the Trade's Increaſe, and of the Spirit of Monopoly growing up along with it?

Upon a Creation of Serjeants 16 *October*, *A. D.* 1555, 2, 3 *Philip* and *Mary*, Mr. *Albany*. a Draper in *Watling-ſtreet*, was appointed to furniſh them with Cloth, *viz.* *Dugdale's Origines Juridicales*, p. 129. 'See C. 14. §. 7.

Every Serjeant for his Robe of Scarlet, five Yards and a half, at —— —— £33 r. 4 *d.* a Yard.
Of Violet in Grain, for a like Robe, five Yards and an half, at —— —— —— 16 0 a Yard.
Of brown Blue, for a like Robe, five Yards and an half, at —— —— 14 0 a Yard.
Of Muſtard and Murrey, for a like Robe, five Yards and an half, at —— —— 10 0 a Yard.

6. *An Act for the ſealing and viewing of Cloths, commonly called* Bridgwaters. c. 12. *

7. *An Act for the Inhabitants of* Haliſax *to buy Wools.* c. 13. †

Goodwin's Life of Q. Mary, 1557.

8. *A. D.* 1557. About the Beginning of this Year, came to *England Oſep Napea*, from *Evan Baſilowitz* Emperor of *Ruſſia*, to treat a perpetual Peace and Friendſhip between the two States ‖. On the Coaſt of *Scotland*

* *This Act recites*, That the Myſtery of Cloth-working in *Somerſetſhire* had extended itſelf from the Towns into Villages; and to obviate certain Abuſes there grown up, ordains, That no ſuch Cloths ſhall be ſold before they be viewed, ſearched, and ſealed.

† This is the firſt Mention made in the Statute Book of a Woolen Manufacture at this Place. And yet the Act recites, 'That the Inhabitants of that Pariſh, and other Places thereunto adjoining, did live altogether by Cloth-making; and that above 500 Houſholds were thereby increaſed within 40 Years then paſt.' It was made to take off [b] Ch. 15. §. 33. ſo far, the Reſtriction of 37 *Hen.* VIII. c. 15. " as to permit, under certain Limitations, the Inhabitants of *Haliſax* to buy Wool, and retail it out for the Benefit of poor Craftſmen there, who could not purchaſe it in larger Quantities.

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 46. *Note* 1.

‖ 'Three *Engliſh* Ships having firſt in the Year 1553 'ſailed to *Ruſſia* under the Conduct of Sir *Henry Willoughby*, in order to ſettle a Trade in that Country: In the 'Year 1555, Queen *Mary* incorporated the Merchant Adventurers to theſe Parts into a Company, conſiſting of four 'Conſuls, and 24 Aſſiſtants; and *Sebaſtian Cabot*, born at '*Briſtol*, of *Genoeſe* Parents, was conſtituted Governor, being the chief Encourager of this Branch of Trade.'

Life and Reign of Q. Eliz.

Camden's Account of this Matter is: 'Whilſt ſome Merchants of the City of *London*, the chief whereof were *Andrew Judd*, *George Barnes*, *William Gerard* and *Anthony Huſſey*, were attempting a Paſſage through the North Channel into *Cathay*, in the Year 1553, under the Conduct of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who was frozen to Death; *Richard Chancellor*, who was the next Adventurer, was ſo lucky as to diſcover one into *Ruſſia*, 'till then unknown, by the Mouth of the River *Dwina*. Hither the Emperor ſent ſome Sleds to carry him and his Company to *Moſcow*. He received and diſmiſſed them with great Courteſy; promiſing the *Engliſh* vaſt Advantages, if they would open a Trade into his Country. Nor was he a

Scotland he ſuffered Shipwreck, and loſt, beſides abundance of rich Goods, all the Preſents ſent from his Maſter to our Court. But this Loſs was a Triſle, compared to that of *Richard Chancellor*, worthy of immortal Memory, a moſt skilful Pilot, that firſt diſcovered the Paſſage to thoſe Northern Parts, and now more ſolicitous for the Embaſſador's Safety, than for his own, was ſwallowed up in the Sea.

9. *An Act touching the making of Woolen Cloth.* ‡ 4-5 Phil. *and* Mary.

' little pleaſed to find, that foreign Wares might be ſo eaſily imported by Sea into *Ruſſia*; which the *Ruſſian* had before brought to them with a great deal of Difficulty by the Way of *Narva*, and the Countries of *Paland*, which held no Agreement with them.'

' As ſoon as *Chancellor* return'd, and gave this Account, ' and how high a Rate *Engliſh* Cloths were ſold at in thoſe ' Parts, and what a cheap Rate Flax and Hemp, Wax and ' richer ſort of Furs, went at there; thoſe Merchants pro- ' cured the Queen's Patent to eſtabliſh themſelves into a ' Company, called *The Muſcovy Company*; who having ma- ' ny Privileges granted them by the Emperor, ſettled a vaſt ' Trade, and ſent a Fleet thither once a Year.'

‡ *This Act recites,* ' that 5-6 Edw. VI. c. 6. was by ' great Deliberation and Advice, one good Act, ' for the ' true and perfect making of Woolen Cloth; ſince which, ' divers Clothiers found themſelves aggrieved, it being im- ' poſſible to obſerve the ſame in all Points;' and therefore this was made by way of Mitigation in ſome Particulars. It contains 38 Sections. *Sect.* 32 enacts, ' that no Perſon ' ſhall make Woolen Cloth, but only in a Market Town ' where Cloth hath commonly been uſed to be made, by ' the Space of ten Years laſt paſt, or in a City, Borough, ' or Town corporate.' But then with this Exception, (§. 36.) which ſays, ' It ſhall be lawful to all Perſons which ' ſhall dwell in *North Wales* or *South Wales*, *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *Cornwall*, *Suffolk*, *Kent*, the Town of *Godalming* in *Surrey*, or *Yorkſhire*, being not within 12 ' Miles of the City of *York*, or any Towns or Villages near ' the River *Stroud*, in the County of *Glouceſterſhire*, where ' Cloths have been uſually made [h], to uſe the Myſtery, ' & c. out of a City, Borough, or Market Town.'

[g] *In* 53 *Sections.*

[h] *For* 20 *Years paſt.*

The Places here mentioned, are ſufficient to give another Idea of the State of the Woolen Manufacture at this Time in

CHAP. XIX.

Queen ELIZABETH.

1. *AN Act for ſhipping in* Engliſh *Bottoms.* 1 Eliz. c. 13. *

2. *An*

in *England*, than what we receive from the Generality of Writers. And yet theſe are not by near, all the Places in *England*, conſiderable at *this Time* for that Manufacture. Nor were they the Places then moſt conſiderable in that Reſpect. There were beſides, which have occurred before in the Stat. Books, *London* and the Suburbs, *Somerſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, *Coventry* and *Warwickſhire*, *Norwich*, *Norfolk*, *Eſſex*, *Wincheſter*, *Sarum*, *Wiltſhire*, *Worceſter* and *Worceſterſhire*.

In this laſt County it was expreſsly provided, 25 Hen. c. 18. [1] That no one ſhould make Cloth, except within the City of *Worceſter*, the Towns of *Eveſham*, *Droitwich*, *Kidderminſter* and *Bromeſgrove*. And by 2-3 *Phil.* and *Mary*, Ch. 11. §. 6. [k] No Perſon might make, or cauſe to be made, any kind of broad white Woolen Cloths out of a City, *&c.* where they had not been commonly made by the Space of ten Years. And this Act ordains further, as in *Sect.* 32. But with Exceptions as in *Sect.* 36. ſo that with regard to *Worceſterſhire*, the 25 *Hen.* VIII. c. 18. was yet in Force. And in many Parts beſides, many good Clothing Towns were precluded by it [l], *as if there was Danger of the Woolen Manufacture increaſing too much. Such at this Time was the Nature of the Monopoliſh Avarice of Woolen Manufacturers in* England. *Which after all muſt be looked upon as a good Symptom in the main. For had not the Trade been then in a growing Condition, Laws to reſtrain Perſons from entering into the Buſineſs, had been quite uſeleſs.* Accordingly we ſhall find [m], that the Cloth Trade of *England* in this Reign, was grown to ſuch a Pitch that the Trade *of exporting Wool was almoſt wholly decayed.*

[1] Ch. 15. §. 25.

[k] §. 5. *Note.*

[l] *See* Chap. 19. §. 2. *Note.*

[m] Ch. 26. §. 6.

* It was provided (§. 4.) that Merchant Adventurers and thoſe of the Staple, in their ſeveral Fleets and Shippings of *Cloth* and *Wool* out of the River *Thames*, as they were made only twice in one Year at the moſt, might for want of a ſufficient Number of *Engliſh* Ships at ſuch Times, uſe thoſe of Strangers into the Parts of *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zealand* or *Brabant*.

2. *An Act for the continuing and making of Woolen Cloths in divers Towns* † *in the County of* Eſſex. c. 14.

3. A Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage granted to to the Queen during her Life. c. 20. *(the ſame as to Queen* Mary.)

4. *An Act avoiding divers foreign Wares made by Craftſmen beyond the Seas.* 5 Eliz. c. 7. ‖

CHAP. XX.

Queen Elizabeth.

1. *A. D.* 1564. At this Time the Commerce between *England* and the *Netherlands* was entirely broke by the Artifices of Cardinal *Granvelle*. As he foreſaw a War was going to be kindled in the *Low Countries*, he was willing to remove the *Engliſh*, and for that Purpoſe, had prevailed with the Governeſs to forbid the Importation of *Engliſh* Cloths. This Prohibition obliged the *Engliſh* to ſet up a Staple for their Cloths at *Embden*, a Town at *Eaſt-Frieſeland*. But a new Embaſſador (*Don Diego Guſman de Sylva*) ſent into *England* by *Philip*, conſidering that his Majeſty's Subjects would from this Interruption of Commerce, receive no leſs Damage than the *Engliſh*, brought this Affair to a Negotiation. As there occurred great ‡ Difficulties, it was mutually *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 68.

† *Boeking*, *Weſtbarfold*, *Cockſhal* and *Dedham*, which Towns not being Market Towns, nor particularly mentioned in 4 and 5 of *Phil.* and *Mary*, were by that Act precluded; altho' (the Act ſays) they were fair Towns for the Purpoſe, and had been a long time inhabited with Cloth Makers.

‖ This Act prohibiting ſeveral Manufactures of the *Netherlands*, was made a Handle and Pretence for an enſuing Quarrel and Breach of Commerce; tho' another, and probably the chief Cauſe was, Differences on the Score of Religion. (*See* Ch. 20. §. 1. *Note.*)

‡ The *Netherlanders* complained of the Impoſition of unreaſonable Cuſtoms on their Wares, and likewiſe of the Prohibition by Act [n] of Parliament (5 *Eliz.* c. 7.) of many of their Manufactures.

[n] Ch. 19. §. 4. *Note.*

mutually agreed, that the Treaty of Commerce, called the *great Intercourſe* ‡, made in the Time of *Maximilian*, ſhould ſubſiſt till one of the Parties notified the contrary to the other, with the Allowances of 40 Days to the Merchants to withdraw their Effects. This Affair was very important to both Nations. *Camden* ſays, in *his Time*, 'the Commerce between *England* and the 'Netherlands roſe yearly to above *twelve Millions*, and 'that the Woolen Trade alone roſe yearly to above *five* 'Millions.' *This is* Rapin's *Account, for which he quotes* Camden.

2. But *Rapin* does not give it as he received it from *Camden*; who does not ſay in *his Time*, but at *this Time* † (meaning plainly the Year 1564, of which he was writing) 'the Commerce between *England* and the 'Netherlands roſe yearly to above *twelve Millions of* '† *Gold*, and the Cloth Trade to above *five Millions*.'

Here then is to be conſidered, 1. *what this Account amounts to*; 2. *the Credibility of it*.

3. The *Latin* Word which *Camden* has made uſe of, may ſtand indifferently for any *Gold Coin*. The Queſtion is, how it was commonly uſed, or rather what *Camden* intended by it in this Place. And there is no doubt but that he meant by it either *Florins* or *Ducats*, (the Coins by which Reckonings were then chiefly made at *Antwerp*) and the latter of which therefore the Tranſlator of his Annals has adopted; or elſe *Angels*, *Nobles*, or *Crowns*, as *Engliſh Coins*; by any of which it was not uncommon to reckon, as well as by the Pound *Sterling*. That it was not *Angels*, I conclude; becauſe *Camden* in a ſubſequent Paſſage upon another Occaſion, uſing the ſame Word, adds, thoſe which we call *Angels*. To ſuppoſe the very leaſt then, *Florins* of 3 *s.* each, the annual Exports of Woolen Goods at that Time, from *England*

‡ All Orders and Decrees contrary thereto, from the firſt of *January* in the firſt of *Eliz.* on both Sides were ſuſpended, conſequently 5 *Eliz.* c. 7.

† 'Certe hoc noſtro Tempore (ex rationum Tabulis 'loquor) Commercium inter Anglos & Belgas 12 Milliones '*Aureorum* in ſingulos Annos ſuperavit, & Panni Anglici '(ut Plumbum, Stannum & cetera taceam) Antwerpiam 'quotannis Exportati 5 Millionibus *aureorum* ſunt eſtimati.'

England to *Antwerp* only amounted to 750,000 *l. Sterling*.

4. This was an immenſe Sum for thoſe early Days of *Engliſh* Trade; and yet is there nothing incredible in it, all Things conſidered. For *Camden* tells us, that what he ſays is moſt unqueſtionably true; and that he has it from good Books of Accounts. Nor is he leſs to be regarded than other Hiſtorians ‖, nor leſs in this Particular, but much more than many others, in ſome Inſtances of a like Nature. For it was ſo near his own Times, that he was a good Judge of the Probability of Things which he had occaſion to relate. He was himſelf a Man of nice Obſervation; had, he ſays in his Preface, Lord *Burleigh*'s, and the Queen's own Collection of Papers, beſides other Helps. He had no Bias upon his Mind, in this Caſe eſpecially; it being a Point in which Paſſion or Party, Favour or Prejudice, had not then the leaſt Concern.

5. This Account of the high Pitch of the *Engliſh* Woolen Trade will receive further Confirmation from other Circumſtances. 1. A Review of theſe Memoirs plainly diſcovers it to have been in a progreſſive State from the 6th of *Edw.* III. *viz.* the Year 1331; which was now full 233 Years. 2. 'About ° the Year 1450, ° *DeWitt's* 'or ſoon after, the *Hollanders* loſt again moſt of thoſe Maxims, 'Flemiſh and *Brabant* Manufactures, which they (as part 3. 'well as the *Engliſh*) had begun to gain ſoon after the chap. 3. 'Year 1300,' (*which Loſs to* Holland *was no doubt ſome Gain to the Woolen Trade of* England.) 3. From the Beginning of *Hen.* VII. which was now near 80 Years, many other Things had conſpired to render the Trade of *England*, and the Woolen Trade in particular, conſiderably great. This Prince as a wiſe Man, and withal a Lover of Money, gave great Attention to Trade, and eſpecially to Manufacture ‡. 4. With the Reign of

‖ 'His Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*, as long as Time ſhall 'laſt, is like to be the ſtanding Hiſtory of that Reign; no 'leſs than *Cæſar*'s *Commentaries* will be of the *Gallick* 'Wars.'

Biſhop Gibſon's *Pref. to* Camden's Britannia.

‡ *See* Chap. 14. §. 2, 4, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17.

Hen. VIII. commenced the famous League of *Cambray* * againſt the State of *Venice*, then a flouriſhing Republick in Trade and Manufacture, as well as in Extent of Dominion; which League involved all *Italy*, (at that Time alſo deep in the Woolen Manufacture † as well as the *Venetians*) *France*, the *Emperor*, and the King of *Spain* in a War of almoſt nine Years; in which the *Venetians* particularly were engaged from the Beginning to the End, and expended no leſs than five Millions of Ducats of the public Treaſure, beſides the infinite Damage ſuſtained by the Subjects; of which the Interruption of their Commerce and Manufacture muſt have been none of the leaſt. And which it may be conceived, did naturally contribute to the Advancement of the Woolen Manufacture in *England*. 5. As did ſoon after ‖ the Peace in *Italy*, the Diſcovery of *New Spain*, by which Gold and Silver becoming more plentiful in *Europe*, Trade every way was greatly increaſed. 6. Moreover the Treaty of Commerce concluded with *Sweden* ‡ in *Edw.* VI. and with *Ruſſia* ∴ in *Phil.* and *Mary* (which Trade was wholly new) muſt needs have been very propitious to the Woolen, which was then almoſt the ſole Manufacture of this Kingdom, and in which its Trade then moſt peculiarly conſiſted.

Rapin, vol. 1. p. 736.

6. A Treatiſe § wrote about this Time, may be conſidered as a farther collateral Proof of *Camden*'s Evidence in this Caſe. In this Treatiſe it is urged as a Grievance, and charged (by Miſtake) upon the Merchants, 'that 'all

* Chap. 14. §. 19. *Note.*

† Chap. 9. §. 12. Chap. 11. §. 17, 19. *Note.* §. 21.

‖ Chap. 15. §. 12. ‡ Chap. 16. §. 4.

∴ Chap. 18. §. 8. *Note.*

§ Intitled *The Cuſtomers Reply*; or, *Anſwer to a confuſed Treatiſe of Commerce*, &c. Printed in 1604. But wherein is the following marginal Note, '*This Treatiſe was writ-* 'ten about the Time of the Colloquy of Bruges, which was 'holden in Anni* 1564 & 1565.' The Title and Preface make it to be an Anſwer to *Wheeler of Commerce*, 1601. (See Chap. 25.) But the Tract itſelf, tho' levelled at the Merchant Adventurers, and of the Staple, has no Reference to *Wheeler*, or any thing advanced by him; whence I conclude it to be the ſecond Edition of a Piece wrote and firſt publiſhed (as the *printed marginal Note* informs us) about the Year 1564.

'all manner of Wares and Commodities, as well of the 'Realm as of all foreign Realms, had risen to *huge, im-* '*moderate and excessive Prices.*' It does not mention the particular Price of any one Commodity, but informs us, 'that when *Hen.* VIII. for the Benefit of his People '(as he terms it) raised the nominal Value of the several 'Species of Coin then current (or rather he should have 'said, debased the Coin itself) thereupon began to grow 'some Disorder of Price in all Wares and Commodities; 'which *Edw.* VI. thought to help, by diminishing still 'more the Quantity of Silver in each Coin (*viz.* from '40 to 20') but the Consequence was, that the *English* 'Pound, heretofore exchanged abroad for 26 *Flemish* 'Shillings, became worth no more than 13 *Flemish* 'Shillings. And *English* Commodities rose in Propor- 'tion to double the Price, *English* Money, i. e. *nomi-* '*nally.*' *This our Writer nonsensically attributes to the Selfish Management of the Merchant Adventurers and Staplers, as if Money in Trade was not a Commodity, as well as other Things, and considered only as so much Bullion.* p Ch. 4. P. 8.

Thus says he, 'The Clothiers which came to *Black-* '*well-Hall*, set their Prices on their Cloths, as they 'learned of the Merchants the Price of Money abroad at 'the Mart Towns, and not according to the Valuation 'thereof given and proclaimed by the Prince.'

As if it were to be expected that the Proclamation of a Prince could have made half an Ounce of Silver equal to an Ounce, in foreign Countries especially (where a great Share of this Cloth brought to Blackwell-Hall, *was destined.) This Writer continues his Charge against the Merchants, and says,* 'After Queen *Elizabeth* had restored the Coin 'to its true Purity and Weight, still the Price of all 'manner of Commodities, native and foreign, remained 'much as they were before,' viz. *double of what they had been. And this, however the Matter might be mistaken at that Time, could proceed from no other Cause, than from a vast Increase of Trade, and thereby an extraordinary Flow of Money.* And tho' our Author has not, as before observed, mentioned the Price at this Time of any one Commodity, yet, from Circumstances we may gather pretty nearly that of Wool, in the following manner, *viz.*

By

By 25 *Hen.* VIII. c. 13. [a] the then beſt Price of Wool appears to have been about 5 *s.* *per* Stone *. Which, according to this Writer, advancing with other Things, to double its Value, nominally, upon the Debaſement of the Coin; and retaining with other Things, much the ſame nominal Value, after the Coin was reduced to its due Purity and Weight, (there is ſome Ground to believe) was now ſold for about 10 *s.* *per* Stone, 20 *s.* *per* Tod; and this Conjecture we ſhall ſee confirmed preſently by a reaſonable Teſtimony †.

[a] *See* Chap. 15. §. 24. *Note.*

7. Laſtly, it is to be noted here, that tho' *Antwerp* was at this Time the greateſt Mart of *Europe*, yet the whole Exportation of Woolen Goods from *England*, was not brought under the Account of Exportations to that Place only. There was beſides, *Amſterdam* ‖, *Hamburgh*, [t] *Scotland*, *Ireland*, probably ſome Parts of *France*; certainly *Sweden* and *Ruſſia* ‡, to which Cloths were exported directly from *England*, if not ſome to the Streights too. So that if we fix the ordinary annual Exportations of *Engliſh* Goods in this Period, at ONE MILLION, *two or three hundred thouſand Pounds*, I think is not going beyond the Bounds of Probability. And therefore, all Circumſtances

[t] *See* Chap. 17. §. 1. *Note.*

[b] *See* Ch. 4. *P. S.*

* Which, the Shilling containing then [b] 118 Grains, was nearly equal to 7 *s.* 6 *d.* preſent Silver Coin of *Great Britain*; and to 15 *s.* of the Money of 37 *Henry* VIII. and 3 *Edward* VI. when the Shilling contained but 40 Grains; and to 30 *s.* of 5 *Edward* VI. when it was reduced to 20 Grains.

So that it is not at all to be wonder'd at, if, according not only to vulgar, but even general Apprehenſions of the more intelligent in thoſe Days, when the Nature of Money was leſs conſider'd and underſtood, all Commodities had roſe to *huge, immoderate, exceſſive Prices.*

† Chap. 23. §. 11.

‖ 'The Trade to the Eaſtern Countries, ſince the breaking in of the Inlet or Paſſage into the *Texel*, about the Year 1400, when the River *Y* began to be navigated with great Ships, ſettled by degrees moſtly at *Amſterdam*.' *De Witt's Maxims*, &c. Chap. 11.

'Before *Antwerp* was taken by the Prince of *Parma* (1585) *Amſterdam* was, next to it, the greateſt mercantile City of the *Netherlands*.' Chap. 12.

‡ Chap. 16. §. 4. Chap. 18. §. 8. *Note.*

ſtances laid together (ſuch as the Difference of the Value of Money, the Introduction of *Spaniſh* Wool ſince that Time, &c.) it appears, that the Woolen Exportation Trade, ſo far as regards the Conſumption of the *Engliſh* Produce WOOL, was in this Period at leaſt as conſiderable as it has been at many Times ſince, and much more conſiderable than in ſome later Periods.

And yet this was not only a Time when Wool might lawfully be, and actually was exported; but it is a Period which all modern Writers upon this Subject have overlooked, as much as if no ſuch Thing as a Woolen Manufacture in *England*, eſpecially any foreign Trade for Woolen Goods of *Engliſh* make, had then exiſted; dating the firſt Riſe thereof four Years later, *viz.* from the Year 1568, which I therefore note *as another, and an extraordinary Inſtance of falſe Hiſtory*, which it is very fit ſhould be corrected, not only becauſe it is falſe, but becauſe ſuch Inferences are drawn from it, as commonly do attend Premiſes which are not true.

CHAP. XXI.

Queen ELIZABETH.

1. *AN Act againſt carrying over Sea, Rams, Lambs, or Sheep alive.* 8 Eliz. c. 3. *

2. *An Act touching Clothworkers and Cloth ready wrought, to be ſhipped over Sea.* c. 6. †

3. *An Act touching Drapers, Cottoners and Frizers of* Shrewsbury. c. 7. ‖ 4. *An*

* The Act ſays, 'It was for divers good Cauſes and 'Conſiderations moved in Parliament;' but does not mention what thoſe were. (*See* Chap. 11. §. 4. *Note.*)

† 'For every nine Cloths unwrought (*i. e.* undreſſed, not barbed, rowed, courſed, ſhorn, &c.) to be carried beyond the Seas, contrary to the Statute, by force of any 'Licence, the Party ſhall carry over one like Woolen Cloth 'ready wrought and dreſſed. No Licence for tranſporting 'Cloths ſhall extend to *Kentiſh* and *Suffolk* Cloths.'

‖ This was a monopoliſh Act, obtained in order to reſtrain the buying and ſelling at *Shrewſbury*, a Species of Woolen

4. *An Act for the Aulnagers Fee in* Lancaſhire, *and for Length, Breadth and Weight of Cottons, Frizes and Rugs.* c. 12.

CHAP. XXII.

Queen ELIZABETH.

Camden, 1568. 1. *A. D.* 1568. The Queen gave a courteous Reception to ſuch of the *French*, as were forced on the Score of Religion to fly their Country. The ſame ſhe did to the *Netherlanders*, who flocked to *England* in vaſt Multitudes, as a Retreat from the Storm of the Duke of *Alva*'s Cruelties practiſed againſt them. She gave them the Liberty of ſettling themſelves at *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Sandwich*, *Maidſtone* and *Southampton*; which turned to the great Advantage of *England*; for they were the firſt that brought into the Nation the Art of making thoſe *ſlight Stuffs*, called *Bays* * and *Says*, and other Linen and Woolen Cloths of the ſame kind.

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 88. 2. *A. D.* 1569. A ſudden Quarrel between the Queen and the King of *Spain*, obliging the *Engliſh* Merchants to ſend their Effects to *Hamburgh*, the Duke of *Alva* prohibited all Commerce with *England*. Then he appointed

Woolen Goods called *Welſh Cloth*, and another Sort called *Lining*, only to Perſons free of a particular Company there incorporated. This was falſely alledged to be at the Inſtance, and for the Benefit of the Poor of that Place. But a ſhort Experience proving the Reverſe, it was repealed 14 *Eliz.* c. 12.

* See (Chap. 26. §. 3. *Note.*) *Bayes* mentioned among the Woolen Goods of *England* prohibited in 1564; conſequently *Camden* or *Wheeler* was ſo far miſtaken.

* Ch. 15. §. 17. *Note.* Alſo (14, 15 *Hen.* VIII. c. 3.*) *Says* are mentioned with Worſteds and Stammins, as Part of the Manufacture of *Yarmouth*. 'Tis true, theſe Refugees have been great Makers of Bays and Says; but the Arts they introduced as wholly new, I take to have been (beſides many others in Silk and Worſted, as alſo Linen) that of Stocking-Frame-Weaving. (*See* Chap. 92. §. 10.)

appointed certain Spies † in all the Sea Ports, to give him Information of those that acted contrary to the Prohibition.

3. The *English* Merchants met with no better Treatment in *Spain* than in the *Netherlands*. *Philip* ordered all their Effects to be seized, by way of Reprisal, for the Money stopped in *England*.

4. At this Time also there was a Stop put to the *Russian* Trade, as well as that with the *Netherlands*, occasioned partly by the Unfaithfulness of the several Factors, and the unhappy Quarrels among themselves, and partly through the Odium that they lay under with the *Germans* and *Russians*; the latter complaining of their fraudulent Arts in raising the Price of their Goods; and the *Germans* and *English* that belonged not to the *Russia* Company, that they had engrossed the Trade and set up a Monopoly ‖. But the Queen speedily sent thither *Camden*, 1569.

† Searchers, to hinder them from bringing in, or exporting any Goods from the *Netherlands*. An active and busy Man among these Commissioners was *John Story*, an *English* Renegade Lawyer, who being kidnapp'd on board a Ship, which was reported to have brought over *English* Goods, and some heretical Books and Writings, they presently set sail and carried him to *England*, where he was afterwards executed. Ibid.

What is most remarkable in these Accounts we have of the several Ruptures and Prohibitions of Trade between England *and the* Low Countries, *is, that we neither find the former laying any particular Restraint upon Wool exported, in regard to the* Netherlands; *nor have we any Intimations of the latter, for their own Interest, conniving at the Importation of Wool from* England, *tho' all other Intercourse was prohibited; both which, methinks, might have been expected, if* English *Wool alone had then been looked upon as the sole Foundation of the* Order of the Golden Fleece *there, the real Source of their immense Trade and Wealth*; i. e. *if it had been so far superior in its Nature to all other Wool, as that they could not have dispensed with the Want of it.*

‖ There is nothing in this, but what might naturally be expected. It is easy to imagine, that under such Circumstances of Monopoly, one Part of the *English* Merchants would want Moderation sufficient to confine their Gains within tolerable Bounds, so as to preserve Appearances; another Part would have too much Spirit, to permit them to

thither Sir *Thomas Randolph*, who made up Matters and ſo managed the *Czar*, that he obtained diverſe Privileges for the *Ruſſia* Company.

Camden, 1573. 5. *A. D.* 1573. In *January* this Year, the Commerce which had been prohibited between the *Netherlanders* and the *Engliſh*, in the ſame Month of the Year 1568, was now at laſt permitted for two Years; and the Articles agreed upon at *Briſtol* upon that Account, were ratified by the *Spaniard* in *June*. ‡

1576. 6. *A. D.* 1576. The moſt beautiful City of *Antwerp*, which hardly yielded to any the moſt flouriſhing Mart Towns in all *Europe*, was miſerably ſacked by the *Spaniards*, the Houſes of the *Engliſh* Merchants plundered and rifled, and they themſelves, tho' free of Blame, conſtrained to pay the Soldiers a great Sum of Gold for their Ranſom.

7. *A. D.* 1579. About this Time the Grand Signior *Amurath Cham*, upon Treaty betwixt *William Harbourn* an *Engliſh* Man, and *Muſtapha Bey* a *Turkiſh Baſhaw*, granted that the *Engliſh* Merchants might freely traffick throughout the whole Empire, in like manner as the *French*, the *Venetians*, the *Polonians*, the King of the *Germans*, and the *other neighbouring Nations* did. Whereupon they by the Queen's Authority and Privilege, grew up into a Society or Company, which being called the *Turkey Company*, have ever ſince found a very gainful Trade to *Conſtantinople*, *Angori*, *Scio*, *Petraxza*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and elſewhere in *Aſia*, for Spices, Cottons, raw Silk, Tapeſtry, *Indian* Dye, &c. *

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to enjoy the Benefits of ſuch Monopoly without Envy and Moleſtation.

‡ *Perſons dwelling in the Counties of* Somerſet, Glouceſter, *and* Wilts, *out of Corporate Towns, may make Cloths, notwithſtanding the Statute* 4, 5 Philip *and* Mary, c. 5. 18 Eliz. c. 16.

* *An Act for aboliſhing certain deceitful Stuff † uſed in dying of Cloth*, &c. 21 Eliz. c. 9.

† *Logwood*, which, it ſeems, the People of *England* did not then underſtand how to uſe properly.

Ch. 18. §. 9.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Compendium or brief Examination of certayn ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen *in these our Days: which although they are in some Part unjust and frivolous, yet they are all by way of Dialogue, thoroughly debated and discussed.* By *W. S.* Gent. 1581. *W. S.* Gent. 1581.

Knight, Doctour, Capper, Merchaunt, Husbandmen.

1. *Husbandman.* Mary for these Inclosures doe undoe us all: for they make us pay dearer for our Lande that we occupy, and causes that we can have no Lande in manner for our Money to put to Tyllage, all is taken up in Pasture. I have known of late a dozen Ploughs within less Compass than six Miles about me, layd down within these seven Years, and where threescore Persons or upwards had their Livings, now one Man with his Cattel has all, which is not the least Cause of former Uprores: for by these Inclosers many doe lack Lyvings and be idle: moreover, all Things are so deere, that by their Day Wages they are not able to lyve. *Fol.* 3. 4. [r] Ch. 16. §. 3.

2. *Capper.* I have well the Experience thereof, for I am faine to give my Journeymen two Pence [s] in a Day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently lyve thereof. [s] Ch. 16. §. 3. *Note.*

3. *Merchaunt.* Most parte of all the Towns of *England*, *London* only except, are sore decayed in their Houses, &c. whereof it is long, I cannot well tell, for there is such a general Dearth of all Things, as before 20 or 30 Yeares hath not bene the like, not only of Things growing within this Realme, but of all other Merchaundize, that we buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wines, &c. then all kind of Victuyle are as deere or deerer agayne, and no cause of God's part

thereof

thereof as far as I can perceive; for I never ſaw more Plentie of Corn, Graſſe, and Cattle of all Sorte, than we have at this preſent, and have had (as ye know) all theſe 20 Yeares paſſed continually.

4. *Knight.* Since yee have Plentie of all Things, of Corne, and Cattel (as yee ſay) then it ſhould not ſeem this Dearth ſhould bee long of theſe Incloſers, for it is not for Scarceneſs of Corne, that yee have this Dearth, for (thanked be God) Corne is good cheap, and ſo hath beene theſe many Years paſt. Then it cannot be the occaſion of the Dearth of Cattle, for Incloſure is the thing that nouriſheth moſt of any other: yet I confeſs there is a wonderful Dearth of all Things; and that doe I and all Men of my Sorte feel moſt Grief in, which have no way to ſell, nor Occupation to lyve by, but only our Lands. For you all with other Artificers, may ſave yourſelves meetly well. Foraſmuch as yee, as all Things are dearer, do aryſe in the Pryce of your Wares and Occupations accordingly.

5. *Husbandman.* Yee rayſe the Pryce of your Lands, and yee take Farms alſo, and Paſtures to your Hands, which was wont to be poor Men's Lyvings, ſuch as I am.

6. *Merchaunt.* On my Soul yee ſay truth.

7. *Knight.* Syr, as I know it is true, that yee complayne not without Cauſe, ſo it is as true, that I and my Sorte, I mean all Gentlemen, have as great, yea, and far greater Cauſe to complayne; the Pryces of things are ſo riſen on all Hands, we are forced either to miniſh the third Part of our Houſhold, or raiſe the third Part of our Revenues; and for that we cannot ſo doe of our own Landes, that is already in the Hands of other Men, many of us are enforced to keep Peeces of our own Landes, when they fall in our own Poſſeſſion, or to purchaſe ſome Farme of other Men's Landes, and to ſtore it with Sheep, *&c.*

8. *Husbandman.* Yea, thoſe Sheep is the Cauſe of all theſe Miſchieves.

9 *Doctour.* I perceive by you all, that there is none of you, but have juſt cauſe to complayn.

10. *Knight.* I marvel much Maiſter *Doctour*, what ſhould be the Cauſe of this Dearth, ſeeing all Things are ſo plentiful.

11. *Doctour.*

11. *Doctour.* Syr, it is (no doubt) a Thing to be muſed upon, *Query*, Whether if the Husbandman were forced to abate the Pryces of his Stuff, this Dearth would be amended; if he ſhould be commanded to ſell his Wheat (for Inſtance) at 8 *d.* the Buſhel, Rye at 6 *d.* Barley at 4 *d.* his Pig and Gooſe at 4 *d.* his Hen at 1 *d. ob.* his WOOL *at a Marke a Todd*, the Landlord to return to his old Rent, *&c.* would Goods in that Caſe from beyond Seas be brought as good cheap after the ſame Rate? A Man would think yes. For Example, if they now ſell a Yard of Velvet for 20 *s.* or 22 *s.* and pay that for a *Todd of* WOOL, were it not as good for them to ſell their Velvet for a Marke a Yard, ſo they had a *Todd* of WOOL for a Marke.

P. S. *I think it needleſs to purſue this Dialogue* * *further; whence it is evident that the advanced Price of all Commodities, which appears to have been the Complaint of theſe Times, was only a Conſequence of the Increaſe of Trade, and a greater Plenty of Money than heretofore. It alſo appears that the Price of Wool, before the general Dearth complained of at this Period, was* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* per *Tod, and that now*, viz. in 1581, it ſold for TWENTY and TWENTY TWO SHILLINGS *per* Tod.

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* *The Doctour*, who appears to be the Moderator in this Dialogue, reſolving the Original of theſe advanced Prices of things into the Alteration of the Value of Coin, diſcourſes very ſenſibly upon the Subject of Money; and accounts for *Wool* being dearer in Compariſon than *Corn*, from the former being allow'd to be exported, the latter too much reſtrained in that reſpect; ſays, that reverſing the Meaſures would produce juſt the contrary Effect; and wiſely argues, that by giving an equal proper Liberty to both; in that Caſe, notwithſtanding Incloſures, the Balance would be preſerved; for that the Farmer would ſhift from Sheep to Corn, and *vice verſâ*, as he was likely to find his Account beſt, in the one, or the other.

CHAP. XXIV.

Queen ELIZABETH.

Camden, 1583. 1. *A. D.* 1583. The Emperor of *Muſcovy* dying, the Trade of the *Engliſh* withal decayed by little and little; and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to that Court returned not without Danger of his Life.

2. *Theodore Joannides* ſucceeding to the Empire, granted to *all Merchants* of what Nation ſoever, free Acceſs into *Ruſſia*. And being oftentimes ſollicited by the Queen to confirm the Privileges granted by his Father to the *Muſcovia* Company of *Engliſh Merchants*, to wit, that only *Engliſh* Men of that Company ſhould come into, or trade in the North Parts of *Ruſſia*, and that, *Cuſtom free*, in regard they were the firſt that diſcovered the Paſſage thither by Sea: He thereupon deſired her Liberty to *all* the *Engliſh* to trade into *Ruſſia*; for to permit ſome and deny others was Injuſtice. Princes he ſaid, muſt carry an indifferent Hand betwixt their Subjects, and not convert Trade (which by the Law of Nations ought to be common to all) into a *Monopoly*, to the private Gain of a few. As for his Cuſtoms, he promiſed to exact leſs by one half of that Company than of the reſt; becauſe they firſt diſcovered the Paſſage thither by Sea. In other Matters he confirmed their former Privileges, and added ſome few more out of his Reſpect to the Queen, and not for any Deſert as he ſaid, of the Company; many of whom he found had dealt falſely with his Subjects. *

3. *A. D.*

* *An Act touching the Breadth of white Woolen Cloths made within the Counties of* Wilts, Glouceſter, Somerſet, *and* Oxon. 27 Eliz. c. 17. *This Act recites*, 'That former 'Laws made in theſe Caſes could not always be obſerved, 'and that through unavoidable Defaults, their Cloths were 'many times ſeized by the Searchers of *London* in *Black-well-Hall* Market;' therefore without intending to make void ſuch former Laws, this was provided as a ſmall Abatement from the Rigor thereof.

An

3. *A. D.* 1585. For the more advantageous and gainful vending of *Engliſh* Cloths, Licence was granted to *Ambroſe*, Earl of *Warwick*, and his Brother the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Thomas Starky*, *Gerard Gore*, and divers others, Merchants of *London*, for the Term of two Years, to trade with the *Moors* in the Eaſtern Parts of *Barbary*, to make good the Loſſes they had before ſuſtained in *Africa*; and all others were prohibited to trade upon thoſe Coaſts. Theſe Merchants *Muley Hamet* the *Xeriff* took into his Protection. † *Camden*, 1585.

I 2 CHAP.

An Act concerning the making the Woolen Cloths in the Counties of Devonſhire *and* Cornwal, *called plain white Straights, and pinned white Straights.* c. 18.

This Act was much of the ſame Nature with the preceding one, containing ſome Relaxation of the Laws in Being on that Head.

† *An Act touching the Breadths of* Plunkets, Azures, *and* Blues, *and other coloured Cloths made within the Counties of* Somerſet, *and elſewhere of like making.* 35 Eliz. c. 9. This Act, of the ſame kind with 27 *Eliz.* c. 17, 18. [a] [a] §. 2. *Note.*

An Act for the Reformation of ſundry Abuſes in Cloths, called Devonſhire Kerſeys *or* Dozens; *according to a Proclamation of the* 34th *Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady the Queen.* c. 10.

This Act conſiſts of 10 Sections. It recites, 'That 'grievous Abuſes having been practiſed in theſe Cloths, 'upon repreſentation thereof by ſeveral Petitions, Certifi-'cates of Juſtices, and even Complaints of *The States of* 'Holland, the Queen by Advice of her Council had iſſued 'a Proclamation in the Interval of Parliament, for reform-'ing the ſame;' which being found to have had a good Effect, the Rules, *&c.* therein preſcribed, were hereby enacted into a ſtanding Law.

An Act for the better Execution of the Statute made in the 23*d of the Queen's Reign for the aboliſhing of Logwood.* 39 Eliz. c. 12.

An Explanation of an Act made 11 Hen. VII. *for Fuſtians.* c. 13.

An Act prohibiting bringing into this Realm any foreign Cards for Wool. c. 14.

This Act recites, 'That many thouſands of Woolen 'Card-makers and Card-wyer-drawers of *London*, *Briſtol*, 'Glouceſter, *Norwich*, *Coventry*, *&c.* had heretofore ſub-'ſiſted themſelves and Families upon that Buſineſs, which 'was now greatly impaired by Importation of Wool Cards 'from *France*.'

An

CHAP. XXV.

A Treatiſe of Commerce ‖, *wherein are ſhewed the Commodities ariſing by a well ordered and ruled Trade*, ſuch as that of the Society of Merchants Adventurers *is proved to be*; *written principallie for the better Information of thoſe, who doubt of the Neceſſarineſs* ‡ *of the ſaid Societie in the State of the Realme of* England.

By John Wheeler, Secretarie to the ſaid Societie. Printed at *Midleburgh* 1601.

The Merch. Advent. how ſtiled at firſt.

1. THE Merchants Adventurers were firſt entitled the Brotherhood of St. *Thomas Becket* of *Canterbury*; and in the Year 1248, obtained Privileges of *John*

An Act againſt the deceitful ſtretching and tentering of Northern Cloths. c. 20.

This Act recites 'great Abuſes herein, in all the Counties North of *Trent*, particularly thoſe of *York* and *Lancaſter*;' and at the joint Inſtance of the Clothiers and Chapmen, Inhabitants of thoſe Parts, ordains Regulations in twelve Sections.

An Act for the true making of Woolen Cloths. 43 Eliz. c. 10.

This Act recites, 'how the Laws in many Places for true 'making of Woolen Cloth were eluded, by tentering, 'ſtretching, deceitful Mixtures,' &c. and therefore ordains Regulations much like thoſe of 39 *Eliz.* c. 20.[b] for the North of *Trent*, to be general throughout the Kingdom.

[b] *Note.*

‖ The Woolen Manufacture in *England* being much older than the Art of printing there; and that Art having been long practiſed, before it came into common Uſe, upon all Subjects; therefore theſe Memoirs have thus far been collected neceſſarily from the Statute Books chiefly, and other Records. In this Year 1601 was printed this firſt Book to be met with, ſo nearly related, as it is, to the Subject. It contains a tolerable Hiſtory thereof, ſo far as the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* reaches, and ſomething higher.

‡ The Merchant Adventurers, who had been the great Inſtruments

John Duke of *Brabant*, which were afterwards confirmed to them by *Edw.* III. of *England*. They had afterwards Charters ſucceſſively from *Hen.* IV. *Hen.* V. *Edw.* IV. *Rich.* III. *Hen.* VII. under that Name. Afterwards upon the Staple being removed to *Calice*, they were ſtyled MERCHANTS ADVENTURERS; under which Name their Charter has been continued and confirmed to them by *Hen.* VIII. *Edw.* VI. Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*.

2. In the Time of the Reign of *Edw.* VI. *John Tulle*, *John Dimoke*, and others, Brethren of the ſaid Company, informed the Biſhop of *Elye*, then Lord Chancellour, of Matter againſt the ſaid Company, who upon a Hearing before the Council, were obliged to ſubmit themſelves to the Companies Orders; and the Ringleaders were committed to the *Fleet*. Albeit, the ſaid Perſons renewed their Complaints in the firſt of Queen *Mary*, and did put up a Bill to the Parliament, which was alſo rejected. This Charter was twice renewed with further Privileges by Queen *Eliz. viz.* in 1564, and again in 1586.

3. *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders* granting them Privileges in 1358, they ſettled themſelves in the Town of *Bridges*, afterwards at *Midleburgh*; afterwards in 1444 at *Antwerp* and *Bergen* op *Zoom*; afterwards in 1564 at *Hamburgh* and *Stade* in *Germany*. In all which Places they ſo demeaned themſelves as to reap great Credit, &c. *Their ancient Eſtimation*, P. 15.

4. The Company of *Merchants Adventurers* conſiſteth of a great Number of (*not fewer than* 3500) wealthie and well experimented Merchantes, dwelling in diverſe great Cities, Maritime Townes, and other Partes of the Realme, *viz.* in *London*, *Yorke*, *Norwiche*, *Exceſter*, *Ipſwich*, *Newcaſtle*, *Hull*, &c. Theſe Men of olde Time linked and bound themſelves together in Companie, for the Exerciſe of Merchantdize and Sea Fare, trading in Cloth, Kerſye, and all other, as well *Engliſh* as foreign Commodities vendible abroad, by the which they brought unto the Places where they traded, much Wealth, and for that Cauſe have obtained may excellent *Their Numbers, State and Government*, p. 78.

Inſtruments in procuring the Diſſolution of the *Stillyard* Company, as *Monopoliſts* [c], were now themſelves become the Object of like Complaint, and probably not without Reaſon. [c] Ch. 17.

and ſingular Privileges, &c. The Parts and Places which they trade unto, are the Townes and Portes lying between the Rivers of *Somme* in *France*, and the *Scawe* in the *German* Sea; not into all at once, or at each Man's Pleaſure; but into one or two Townes at the moſte, within the aboveſaid Boundes, which they commonly call the Mart Towne or Townes. Which tho' they have been forced to change at Times, yet whereſoever they ſeated themſelves, thither preſently repaired other Straungers. For on the one Side ſuch is the Valew, Profite, and Goodnes of the *Engliſh* Commodities, that all Nations of theſe Partes of *Europe* and elſewhere deſire them; and on the other Side the *Engliſh* Merchants *buye up and carrie into* Englande *ſo great a Quantitie of foreign Wares*, that for the Sale thereof all ſtraunge Merchaunts doe and will repaire unto them. Now what theſe *Engliſhe* Commodities are, and how they be ſo profitable, may appeare by the Particulars following.

The Number of Cloths they export, & the Sorts each Year, with the Value, viz. 600,000 *l.* *in white Cloths, & in colour'd Cloths* 400,000 *l.*

5. Firſt, there is ſhipped out yearlie by the *aboveſaid* Companie, at leaſt ſixtie thouſande white Cloths, beſides coloured Cloths of all Sortes, Kerſyes ſhort and longe, Bayes, Cottons, Northern Dozens; the juſt Valew of theſe ſixty thouſande white Cloths cannot well be calculated or ſett downe, but they are not leſſe worthe (in mine Opinion) than ſix hundred thouſand Poundes *Sterling* or *Engliſh* Money.

The coloured Cloths of all Sortes, Bayes, Kerſeys, &c. I reckon to ariſe to the Number of fortie thouſande Cloths at leaſt, and they be worth one with another, four hundred thouſande Poundes *Sterling* or *Engliſh* Monie.

Wool is exported.

6. There goeth alſo out of *England*, beſides theſe Woolen Cloths, into the *Low Countries*, *Wool*, Fel, Lead, Tinne, Saffron, Conyskins, Leather, Tallow, Alabaſtre, Stones, Corn, Beer, and diverſe other Things, amounting unto great Summs of Money. It follows, to ſhewe what the Merchants Adventurers buy for returne, of ſtraunge Nations and People frequenting their Marte Townes, and bringing their Countrie Commodities thether.

They buy

of Dutch *and* Germans:

7. Of the *Dutche* and *Germane* Merchants, they buy Rheniſh Wine, Fuſtians, Copper, Steele, Hemp, Onion Seed, Copper and Iron Wyre, Latten, Kettles and Pannes,

This ought to have been Wool-fells

Pannes, Linen Cloth, Harnas, Saltpeter, Gunpowder, all Things made at *Norembergh*; and in ſumme there is no kinde of Ware that *Germanie* yeildeth, but generallie the Merchants Adventurers buye, *as much* or *more* thereof, than any other Nations.

8. Of the *Italians* they buy all kind of Silk Wares, Velvitts, wrought and unwrought Taffitaes, Sattins, Damaskes, Sarſanettes, *Milan* Fuſtians, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Grograines, Chamlettes, Satin and ſewing Silk, Organzine, Orſoy, and all other kind of Wares, either made or to be had in *Italie*. *of* Italians;

9 Of the *Eaſterlings* they buy Flax, Hemp, Wax, Pitche, Tarre, Wainſcot, Dealbords, Oares, Corn, Furres, Cables, and Cable-yearne, Tallow, Ropes, Maſts for Shippes, Sope-aſhes, Eſtridge Wool, and almoſt whatſoever is made or groweth in the Eaſt Countries. *of the* Eaſterlings;

Of the *Portingales* they buye all kind of Spyces and Drugges. *of the* Portugueze;

10. With the *Spaniſh* and *Frenche* they have not much to doe, by reaſon that *other Engliſhe Merchantes* have had a great Trade into *France* and *Spain*, and ſo ſerve *England* directly from thence with the Commodities of thoſe Countries.

11. Of the *Low Countrie Merchants* or *Netherlanders*, they buye all kind of Manufacture and Handwork not made in *England*, Tapeſtry, Buckrams, white Threed, Incle, Linen Cloth of all Sorts, Cambrickes, Lawnes, Mather, and an infinite Number of other Things, too long to rehearſe in particular. But hereby I hope it ſufficiently appeareth, that it is of an exceeding Valew, which the Merchants Adventurers buye and carrie into *England*; inſomuch that I have heard it credibly reported, that all the Commodities that come out of all other Countries, beſides *England*, were not wont to ſett ſo many People at worke in the *Low Countries*, as the Commodities which came out of *England* only did; neither that any other two of the greateſt Nations that frequented the ſaid *Low Countries* for Trade, did buy or carrie out ſo much *Goodes in Valew*, as the Merchants Adventurers. *of the* Netherlanders. *The Merch. Advent. buy more for Importation than any two Nations beſides.*

CHAP. XXVI.

A Review of the Engliſh Woolen Trade, *during the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth.

[c] Ch. 20.

1. WE have already [c] ſeen what was the State of the *Engliſh* Woolen Trade about the Year 1564: I ſhall here conſider the Circumſtances that were favourable to the Trade of *England* from the Year 1564, to this Time [d]. 2. Thoſe which made againſt it. 3. The State of the Woolen Exportations from *England*, at the cloſe of this Reign; ſo far as may be gathered from Mr. *Wheeler* and from other Conſiderations, comparing it upon the whole, with *Camden*'s Account in the Year 1564, and with other Circumſtances.

[d] (1601.)

2. The favourable Circumſtances were, 1. The Reception given to the *French* and *Flemiſh* Refugees in 1568. * 2. The *Turkey* Trade opened in 1579. †. 3. A Trade to *Barbary*, tho' Monopoliſh in 1585. ‖

3. The Circumſtances of Diſadvantage were, 1. The total Interruption of Commerce between *England* and the *Netherlands* in the Year 1564, ‡ which laſted for ſome

* Chap. 22. §. 1. † Chap. 22. §. 7. ‖ Chap. 24. §. 3.

Wheeler, p. 51.

‡ Chap. 20. §. 1. 'This happened through the Complaintes of the Merchantes of *Antwerpe* principallie, and 'others of the *Low Countries*, againſt the raiſing of the 'Cuſtome of Clothe **, and of foreign Wares brought into *England*. and ſpecially againſt an Act of Parliament [e] 'made for the ſetting of her Majeſties People on Worke; 'by vertue whereof foreign Wares, as *Pinnes*, *Knives*, 'Hatts, *Girdles*, *Ribbin*, and ſuch like, were forbidden to 'be brought in readie wrought; to the Intent that her 'Highneſs Subjects might be employed in making thereof. 'Upon which the Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, Regent of the *Low* 'Countries,

[e] 5 *Eliz.* c. 7. (Chap. 19. §. 4.)

** 'In Queene Maries Dayes, after her Marriage with 'King Philippe, in the Year 1557, the Cuſtome of Clothe 'was raiſed from 14 Pence to ſix Shillings eight Pence the 'Cloth, to be paid by Engliſh Men, and 13 Shillings and '4 Pence by Strangers tranſporting the ſame.

WHEELER, p. 88.

ſome Time. 2. The Quarrel between the Queen and the King of *Spain* which happened in 1569, * and cauſed an Interruption of Commerce between the two Crowns for five Years. 3. The ſacking of *Antwerp* and the Sufferings of the *Engliſh* Merchants there in the Year 1576. † 4. The *Ruſſia* Trade dwindled in 1583. ‖ 5. Within a few Years after came on the Affair of the *Spaniſh* Invaſion ‡; from which Time, during the Reign

' *Countries*, by Proclamation forbadd the carrying into ' *Englande* anie Matter or Thing, wherewith the ſaid ' Wares might be made, and baniſhed out of the *Low* ' *Countries* all Manufacture or *Handieworke*, as Bayes, &c. ' made in *Englande*, Clothe and Kerſie only excepted, ' which alſo ſhe afterwards forbadd upon Pain of Confiſca- *Wheeler*, ' tion. So that finallie the Merchant Adventurers, after p. 52. ' they had kept their Clothes and other Goods aboorde ' their Shippes in the River of *Thames* and *Scheld* five ' Moneths together, and might not be permitted to land ' them at *Antwerpe*, were at length forced to departe with ' the ſame into the Town of *Embden* in *Eaſt Friſeland*, ' where they obtained Priveleges, and contracted for a free ' Commerce; whereupon King *Philippe* and his Miniſters ' grieving ſore that they could not have their Will of her ' Majeſtie, and her Highneſs Subjects, an Edict or Proela- ' mation was ſet forth, That no Perſon in the ſaid Lowe ' Countries ſhould have or uſe any Trade with the *Engliſhe* ' at *Embden*, buye anie Cloth, or *Engliſhe* Woollen Com- ' moditie of them, or carrie them anie Wares, upon Paine ' of Confiſcation of the ſame.'

* (Chap. 22. §. 2.) Mr. *Wheeler* ſpeaks of the 'great P. 57. ' Care and Travaile of the Merchant Adventurers in the ' middeſt of all theſe Troubles, and their exceeding great ' Loſſes and Hindrances to ſeeke and procure a Place, as in ' the firſt Inſtance at *Emden*, ſo in this ſecond at *Hamburgh*, ' for Vent of the Commodities of the Realme.'

† §. 6. ‖ Chap. 24. §. 1.

‡ 'The Merchantes Adventurers were at this Time (*viz.* P. 63--7. ' in the 29th of *Eliz.*) encombered with no ſmall Difficul- ' ties; for that neither of their Mart Townes (*Embden* and ' *Middleborough*) were verie ſaufe or fitt for the Utterance ' of their Commodities, neither knew they where to finde ' a Place convenient for that Purpoſe: for at *Middleborough*, ' partlie through the continual Loanes of great Summes of ' Monie, upon the Necke one of another, required at their ' Handes,

Reign of *Elizabeth*, *England* was in a State of Hostility with *Spain*, and which must needs have had an ill Influence, as upon every other Branch of the *English* Commerce,

'Handes, without Warrantie or Authoritie from her Majestie, and partlie through the Fear of Daunger they were 'put in by the Earle of *Leicester*, then Governour of the 'United Provinces, the Trade was in a manner wholly 'damped, and diverse of the principallest of the Companie 'in that Place, almost in flying manner, withdrew themselves, and their Goods into *Holland*. At *Embden*, on 'the other Side, Thinges were in no very good Tearmes, 'by reason of the Duke of *Parmaes* prevaylinge in the Provinces next adjoining, and that the States sent the Men of 'War into the River of *Embe*, whereby the Trade by 'Lande grew exceeding perilous, and by Water troublesome and chargeable; some also, to mend the matter, 'sticked not to put into Mens Mindes a Suspicion of the 'Count *Edgard* of *Eastfriseland*, as a secret Pentioner and 'Favourer of the King of *Spain*; and sure it is, that his 'chief Officer *Ocko Freez*, then Drossart of *Embden*, shewed himself by many Signes and Actions very much enclined to the *Spanish* Parte. The *Hanses* also in the Yeare '1582, at an Assemblie of the Empire at *Ausburghe* by Favour and Assistance of the *Spanish* Ministers, and of the 'Princes of the *Romish* Religion, (the most Parte whereof 'were at the Devotion of the House of *Austriche*) had, 'upon their Complaints and injurious Informations, obtained a Decree for the expelling of the Trade and Residence of the Merchant Adventurers, out of the Empire, '*&c.*

'The Companie, all these Difficulties notwithstanding, 'taking new Courage, and moved in Dutie towards her 'Majestie and their native Countrie, in the Year 1587 sent 'their Commissioners, Syr *Richard Saltonstall*, Knt. at 'that Tyme their Governour, and Doctor *Giles Fletcher*, 'a Civilian, unto *Hamborough* with four Shippes loaden 'with Cloth, to trie the Mindes of that People, and whither they could procure a Residence in that Towne again. 'The *Hamburghers* by the Instigation of the Duke of *Parma*, who at this Tyme was whollie intentive in a manner 'to the Matters of *Englande*, and had incling of a Commotion doubted among the Commons there, (the appeasing 'or decrease thereof, much depended upon the Merchant 'Adventurers Trade, and therefore sought by all means to 'disturb it) held themselves very nice and coye, and having daily in their Counsell Doctor *Wessendorp* of *Groeninghe* sent,

Commerce, ſo upon that greateſt, the Woolen Trade. Thus when in 1598 a cloſe Conſultation was held touching the Expediency of a Peace with *Spain*, it was urged in favour thereof, 'that there would be a free and open 'Trade, for which the Queen and the Kingdom would 'fare much better. That the Trade of *Spain*, which 'had formerly brought in ſuch handſome Advantages to 'the *Engliſh* Merchants, would again be open to them, 'and their Gain fetch them good current Money.' *Lord Burleigh* *Camden's* Life and Reign of Q. *Eliz.*

'ſent thither by *Verdugo* Governour of *Weſt Friſelande* for 'the King of *Spain*, delayed and dallied with the foreſaid 'Commiſſioners; ſo that after much Labour ſpent, nothing 'in the Ende was concluded; for the *Hamburghers* being 'certified by the aboveſaid Doctor *Weſſendorp*, of the great 'Preparation in hande, and the Invaſion intended by the 'King of *Spaine* againſte *Englande*; of the happie Succeſs 'whereof he promiſed and preſumed much, and of which 'the *Hamburghers* (it ſhould ſeeme) conceiving no ſmall 'Hope, upon every Dayes Newes, either confirmed or re-'called, that which before-hand, with much adoe, had been 'paſſed and agreed upon between them and the Merchant 'Adventurers Commiſſioners; excuſing this their light 'Dealing ſometime by the Unwillingneſs of their Com-'mons, (whoſe Conſentes, as they ſaid, they could not ob-'tayne) otherwhiles by want of Authoritie from the reſt of 'the *Hanſes*, without whoſe Liking and Privitie they 'might not conclude any ſuch thing.

'So that in fyne, the Commiſſioners being wearied with 'theſe Delayes, procured a Reſidence and Pivileges at '*Stade*, an auncient free Towne of the Empire, in the Ter-'ritorie of the Archbiſhoppe of *Breme*; whence they were 'driven by the Emperor's Mandate in the Year 1597.'

Two Years before this, viz. 1595. *the* Hanſe *Towns had made great Complaints to the Diet of the Empire concerning Corn taken from them in* Portugal, *and their Privileges loſt in* England. Elizabeth *ſent an Ambaſſador to anſwer theſe Accuſations, and the Affair ſeemed ſuppreſſed, when ſuddenly the Emperor, at the Sollicitation of the* Hanſe *Towns, prohibited the Commerce of the* Engliſh *Merchants, called the* Adventurers, *with the Empire. This obliged the Queen to prohibit the Commerce of the* Hans *Towns in* England, *who, tho' their Corporation had been diſſolved, continued yet to trade upon the Foot of* Merchant Strangers, *and not without ſome peculiar Indulgences.*

Burleigh particularly declared himſelf for Peace, upon theſe Conſiderations. *Eſſex* was of a contrary Diſpoſition and Opinion; and the former dying this ſame Year, the War continued to the end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, altho' both Sides, as they had ſufficient Reaſon, ſeemed to be heartily ſick of it.

4. But notwithſtanding all theſe Embaraſſments, *Wheeler*'s Account of the *Engliſh* Woolen Trade at the Cloſe of this Reign, is, that the Merchant Adventurers exported yearly to the Value of a MILLION *Sterling* in Cloths; beyond which there was the Trade to *Ruſſia*, *Sweden*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *France*, a clandeſtine Trade to *Spain*, a conſiderable Trade to *Turkey*, and a Trade to *Barbary*, and that of the Merchants of the *Stillyard*, who ſtill continued upon the foot of Merchant Strangers, and not without ſome peculiar Indulgences. Eſtimating all which at no more than 500,000*l.* yearly, it is ſubmitted to Conſideration, whether this Conjecture (for it is no other) comes within the Bounds of Probability. And if it does, whether the Value of Money, and all other Circumſtances conſidered, it can be thought to have been greater now at the latter End, than it was towards the Beginning of this Reign, *viz.* 1564, the Time *Camden* ſpeaks of.

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 147.

But if the ſeveral Branches above-mentioned, beſides that of the Merchant Adventurers (which alone amounted to one Million yearly) ſhall be judged to have exceeded the Rate of 500,000*l. per Ann.* In that Caſe, the *Engliſh* Woolen Exportation Trade will be found to have been greater in this, than at moſt ſucceeding Periods, eſpecially before the Revolution, as will be ſhewn hereafter.

5. And this, it is to be noted, was during the *allowed Exportation of* Wool; contrary to what has been aſſerted by almoſt all modern Writers upon this Subject, who have not only falſely repreſented the Woolen Trade of *England* to have flouriſhed firſt in this Reign, but with equal Untruth, aſcribed the ſame to the particular Policy of *prohibiting the Exportation of* Wool. A Policy which does not appear ever once to have been ſo much as attempted to be put in Practice from the Beginning to the End of it; although upon the firſt Breach in 1563-4* with

* See §. 3. *Note.*

with the *Low Countries*, the Proceedings of the Dutchess of *Parma* gave the fairest Handle for it imaginable, had the Queen and her Council judged it to be for the Interest of the Kingdom so to have done.

6. The *exporting of* Wool was not yet prohibited; nevertheless Mr. *Wheeler* [e] tells us, 'that so early as in the Time 'of *Phil.* and *Mary*, the Cloth Trade was grown to be 'very great in *England*, insomuch that the *Trade* of 'EXPORTING Wool was *almost wholly decayed.*' And this is a Point *that deserves especial Notice*; *it ought to be carefully remembered*, because it shews seemingly at the least, a far better and more successful Method of *checking the Exportation of Wool*, than that of *prohibiting it absolutely by penal Laws.* The Method by which the Exportation of Wool was so much decayed, and by which the Cloth Trade had so far succeeded hitherto, was, 1. A Duty on Wool exported. † A due Regulation of the Manufacture at home, and proper Care of the Commerce abroad; above all there was, it is to be considered, an Adherence in those Days, chiefly to that particular Manufacture; in Consequence whereof, wanting many other Things (since wrought within the Kingdom) People abroad were not only then *more willing*, but also *more able* to deal with *England* for Woolen Goods upon the Foot of Exchange. And this is one good way of accounting for the *English* Woolen Trade being so very considerable as it then was. Nor is this said with a View to insinuate, that *England* has been a Loser by any Diminution it may be supposed to have sustained in its foreign Trade for Woolen Goods to any particular Parts, on the Score of its having fallen into the particular Manufactures of those Parts. On the contrary, it has undoubtedly been vastly a Gainer by them in all Respects, saving that of the *Wool Grower's* Interest, to whom it is certainly a Loss in the Price of Wool; that while every other Manufacture, even from foreign Materials, is encouraged

[e] P. 88.

† Which was rather an accidental Benefit, than the Effects of particular Design and Policy; as for the most part, Wool was not treated differently from the other Staple Commodities of the Kingdom. They were all charged with Duties on Exportation; and Merchant Strangers were obliged to pay more than Denizens.

encouraged in the Kingdom, tho' never ſo much interfering with the Conſumption of Woolen Goods at home, and with the Trade for them abroad, the Sale of this *Engliſh Product*, by which much Rent and many Taxes are paid, ſhould be circumſcribed in the manner it is; and it is particularly hard upon the Landholders, if that Circumſcription anſwers *no other End* (but what might be compaſſed by Means more eaſy and equitable) than that of reducing the Price of Wool below its natural Value; which with good reaſon is apprehended to be the Caſe. And of this more fully hereafter.

7. But tho' the Exportation of Woolen Goods ſhould be thought not to have been greater at the latter End of this Reign, *viz.* in 1601, than about the Year 1564, yet the Navigation, and conſequently the Profits to the Nation, as well from the Woolen Goods, and other Staple Commodities exported, as alſo from Imports, beyond all Diſpute was greatly, *i. e. ſo much* increaſed, (ſince the Trade being unſettled at *Antwerp*) by *how much* it was more advantageous to carry out the Produce and Manufacture of the Kindgom to diſtant Countries where wanted, and to bring from thence Commodities uſeful at home, than to ſell in a manner at the firſt and cheapeſt Hand, and buy at the laſt and deareſt, without any further Benefit of Carriage, than the ſhort Paſſage between *England* and *Flanders*. As the Trade of *Europe* took a new Turn from the ſacking of *Antwerp*, and the Troubles which happened in the *Low Countries*; ſo *England* under the auſpicious Government of Queen *Elizabeth*, made no ſmall Advantage from that Revolution of Commerce. Hence aroſe the *Turky* and *Eaſt-India* Trade, *&c.* And becauſe the Nation was actually indebted to Queen *Elizabeth*, not only for thoſe new Companies and their extended Navigation, but for the Reſtoration and Eſtabliſhment of the reformed Religion, and for every other Bleſſing of Government that it wanted, and which Wiſdom and good Oeconomy could beſtow; hence I preſume it was, that ſucceeding Generations, out of their abundant Gratitude and Reverence for her Memory, were more ready to aſcribe to this Reign, the firſt Riſe of the Woolen Manufacture alſo, as that whereby the Nation is juſtly ſuppoſed to have reaped moſt temporal Benefit.

8. Laſtly,

8. Laſtly, It may be proper to obſerve in this Place, that tho', as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the Woolen Trade of *England* has never ſince roſe much higher, often not ſo high, as in the Times from *Edward* VI. to the End of *Elizabeth*'s Reign; yet the *Engliſh* were far from having, even then, a Monopoly in this Trade, they were far from being the *Clothiers of the World*, as they have been ſtiled [f] in Banter: But as many have in very ſerious ſort, but moſt fooliſhly imagined, or knaviſhly repreſented. And this whether vulgar Error, or groſs Impoſture, the ſingle Circumſtance of the Sums dealt for, at the Times of which we have been ſpeaking, will evince beyond all Diſpute, even tho' we ſhould advance them, contrary to Probability, to THREE MILLIONS a Year.

[f] Hiſt. of *John Bull.*

CHAP. XXVII.

King JAMES.

1. *AN Act* of Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage.* 1 Jac. c. 33.

2. *A. D.* 1604. A Peace with *Spain* ſoon followed the Prorogation of the Parliament, upon a double Treaty, one relating entirely to Commerce †. *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 169.

3. The King was perſuaded indeed to grant a Monopoly of the Trade with *Spain* and *Italy* to a Company of Merchants, and to forbid all his Subjects, except ſuch as were authorized by the Company, to traffick in thoſe Countries. But in the next Seſſion of the Parliament, the Commons taking into Conſideration, how deſtructive to Trade ſuch a Monopoly was, repreſented ſo plainly to the King the ill Conſequences thereof, that the Company's *Cokes*'s Detection, p. 176.

* By this Act a Merchant Denizen (See the Stat. §. 4.) ſhipping any Wools, was to pay the ſame Cuſtoms as an Alien born out of the Realm, *viz.* 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the Sack [g].

† Mr. *Coke* ſays, 'It was moſt beneficial to the *Engliſh* Nation.'

[g] Ch. 33. §. 4. *Note Coke*, p. 10

ny's Patent was revoked, and the Trade with *Spain* and *Italy* declared free as before ‖.

Rapin, p. 174. *Note* 7.

4. *A. D.* 1606. This Year was signed a Treaty of Trade and Commerce between *England* and *France*.

Camden's Annals.

5. *A. D.* 1607. The Peasants commit a Riot in *Northamptonshire* concerning Inclosures, and pull down the Hedges.

6. *A. D.* 1609. A Truce for twelve Years was concluded betwixt the K. of *Spain* and the *United Provinces* ‡.

7. *A. D.* 1611. This Year was published a small Tract by *William Stansby*, entitled, *The Complaints of the Commons* *.

CHAP.

‖ See the Act (3 *James* c. 6.) which recites that 'such 'Monopoly tended to abate the Prices of our *Wools* and

Coke, p. 45. 'Cloths, *&c.*' Mr. *Coke* observes upon it, 'though the 'Reasons in this Act extend to all other beneficial Trades; 'as to *Turkey*, the *East-Country* and *Hamburgh* Trades, and 'to *Africa* and the *East-Indies*: Yet all these Trades are 'monopolized into Companies, exclusive to other Men, as 'much to the Prejudice of the Nation, as the making the '*Spanish* Trade free was beneficial to it.'

‡ Which being an Help to their Trade was some Hurt to that of *England*.

* Containing two special Grievances, 1. The Waste of Woods. 2. The extreme Dearth of Victuals in the Kingdom. The Author says, 'they were grown more dear in 'Price for the six Years foregoing, than in twenty Years 'before.' Which, in regard it was for six Years together, I apprehend to have been, in a great measure, the natural Consequence only of the Increase of Trade, and greater Plenty of Money than formerly, the Effects of Peace and free Trade with *Spain*. Although, by reason of the Truce made two Years before between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, and for other Reasons, as given in the next Chapter, that Trade seems to have been now upon the Decline. '*For it appears from a Balance of the* English Trade *made* '*in the eleventh Year of* this King, *by Order of the Right* '*Honourable the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Pri-*'*vy Counsell, upon the Motion of the Right Honourable the* 'Earle of Middlesex, *that the Total of all the Exportations*

From *Christmas* 1612, to *Christmas* 1613, was —— ——	2,487,435	07	10
The Total of Importations, ——	2,141,151	10	00
So there remained more carried out than brought in this Year, ——	0,346,283	17	10

Circle of Commerce by *E. Missenden*, Merch^t, 1623. *N. B.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

A Declaration of the Eſtate of Clothing now uſed within this Realm of England, *&c.*

By John May, *a Deputy Aulnager* *, 1613.

1. THE Antiquitie of Wool within this Kingdom hath been beyond the Memorie of Man, ſo highly reſpected for thoſe many Benefits therein, that a cuſtomable Uſe has always been obſerved to make it the Seat of our wiſe learned Judges †, in the Sight of our Noble Peers, (in the Parliament Houſe) to imprint the Memorie of this worthy Commodity within the Mindes of thoſe firme Supporters and chiefe Rulers of the Land. No Kingdom whatſoever can ſpeak ſo happily of this Benefit as this Realme. The Quantitie ſo ‡ much as ſerveth all Nations in the World, and the Qualitie ‡ ſo good, as it is chiefly deſired of all. *The Royaltie and Benefit of Wool and Woollen Cloth*, p. 1. Page 2.

K 2. When

N. B. Tho' this Account of the *Engliſh* Trade at this Time will appear very conſiderable, compared with the State thereof at ſome ſucceeding Periods [b]; yet, making proper Allowances for the Increaſe of Money, it certainly falls very ſhort of *Camden*'s Account at the Year 1564, (Chap. 20. §. 1.) and of what may reaſonably be inferred from the Account of *Wheeler* in 1601. (Chap. 25. §. 5, 6.) [b] Ch. 34. §. 9.

* As this Writer lays open (not perhaps without ſome Degree of Aggravation, in order to magnify his own Office) ſeveral Abuſes in the Woolen Manufacture; which ſort of Abuſes have given Occaſion to many Laws both before and ſince the writing of this Tract; and which we ſhall almoſt conſtantly find to be one great Topic of Complaint, and ſubject for Reformation, in ſubſequent Writers on this Subject: therefore to help the Reader to a more clear Idea of theſe Abuſes, here is once for all a Detail of them from this Author, *J. May*.

† Obſerve here, that this Writer does not pretend to ſay when the Wool-Sacks were firſt placed in the Houſe of Lords.

‡ An Hyperbole, which ſome have ſince wiſely taken in a literal Senſe.

The Condition of the Makers, p. 4.

2. When the Uſe of Clothing was planted here, ſome in all Parts of the Realme undertook the Profeſſion. Theſe Men commonly made their Recourſe to *London* weekly. Their Conference of meeting was, to uphold their Credits by Truth. While this Courſe continued, the Trade

Page 5. flouriſhed. But corrupting Time not only infected ſome of this Fraternitie with the Knowledge of Deceit, but alſo ſtirred other Intruders in this Trade, to uſurp the Name of Clothiers, and to ſupply their want of Knowledge by well ſtudied Fraud.

This viperous Sort doth too much increaſe.

The Aulnager his Antiquity & Power, p. 9.

3. Before the making of Cloth within this Land, the Aulnager was ordained, to meaſure and trie all Cloths coming from foreign Parts. When the making of thoſe Cloths were drawne hither, a Subſidie was graunted to the King, and his Succeſſors, upon all Clothes made within this Realme; the Collection whereof was appointed to the Aulnager, with a Reſervation of his former Power for Reformation of Abuſes, and his Fee of a

Page 10, Half-penny on every Cloth. And in regard his Place ſtood upon two diſtinct Offices, one to collect the Subſidie, wherein was no Farthing Charge; the other was executing the Office of Aulnage, which tied him by

11, great Penalties to perform truly *: he finding the Paines ſo much to make Reformation of the many Defects, and the Fee too ſmall to countervail; and having two Seals, one for the Subſidy, the other for the Aulnage, he would afterwards only ſet on the Seal for Subſidie, leaving his Search and Fee of Aulnage (which was ſmall in reſpect of the Trouble and Prejudice it created) to be freed of the ſame. By which Neglect, Deceipts in Time grew to that Height, that, in order to prevent them, it was found neceſſary to appoint *Searchers*, with an Augmentation of the Fee from an Half-penny to Two pence. This had ſome good Effect for a while. But in a ſhort Time thoſe Miſchiefs crept in again, and the Office of Search was worſe executed by *Searchers* than before by the *Aulnager*.

12, The Aulnager is the fitteſt Perſon to execute this
13, Truſt. But Offenders think him too buſie in his Place.
14. It was (ſay they) his uſual Courſe to take his Money for

* 3 *Rich.* II. c. 2. 7 *Rich.* II. c. 9. (*See* Chap. 8. §. 6, 13.)

for his Seal, and to be quiet. Why ſhould he trouble himſelf with ſuch Labour, that will breed Envie to him, and Vexation to others? It muſt be anſwered, that although he hath long time lyen aſleepe, the Neceſſitie of the Time, and loud Clamours of Abuſes hath awakt him; herein he will aim at two Things, the general Good, and his privat Profit. Since his Forbearance, much Power and Profit hath been drawn from him by Uſurpation, which he may eaſily recover as Branches pluckt from his Body; and his Service truly performed herein, would prove a large Fountain of Good, to his ſmall Drop of Benefit. Page 161

4. The Law has effectually provided for the Search in all Points, that in every Place where Cloth is made and ſold, two, four, ſix, or eight, ſhall be appointed for the Search thereof, that it be according to Law. Thoſe Searchers are to act upon Oath, and give Bonds beſides for the Performance of their Duty. If the Magiſtrates or Juſtices of any Place neglect the Choice of ſuch Searchers, a Penaltie lies on them for that Default. But in many Places are no Searchers at all appointed. In ſome Places the Clothiers and Makers keep a ſearched Seal of their own, to ſet on what they pleaſe: but in moſt Places thoſe Searchers choſen are unſufficient in Knowledge, to perform their Places; or in Ability, to anſwer the Penalties: if they be of Knowledge, then are they Servants or Workmen to thoſe Clothiers or Makers, which are the Offenders, whom they dare not puniſh, nor offend. There is not one Fault in a thouſand called in queſtion, much leſs puniſhed, as the Law directs. If a Queſtion be made upon him in ſome Places, then doth the Mayor take upon him; in other Places, the Juſtices of the Peace, to decide thoſe Cauſes; for which they hold themſelves of the 39 *Eliz.* c. 40. though that Branch is repealed by 4 *Jac.* c. 2. † *The Manner of Search and Searchers, how uſed,* p. 17. Page 18.

† *An Act for the true making of Woolen Cloths.* 4 Jac. c. 2. This Act contains many Regulations in 26 Sections. Sect. 26. provides, 'That nothing in this Act ſhall extend 'to abridge or diminiſh any Cuſtoms or Duties appertaining to the Crown, or to any of the Officers, or Miniſters 'of the Crown, for ſearching, meaſuring, or ſealing any 'Cloths, &c. nor to hurt or prejudice the lawful Fees, 'due

The ſeveral Faults and Abuſes practis'd in Cloth, p. 21.

5. Here a Difference muſt be noted between the Opinion of ſome People, and the true Intent of the Law. There are many Sorts of Cloth or Stuff lately invented, called new Draperie; and theſe are out of the reach of the Laws made for old Draperie touching Length, Breadth, *&c.* But ſhall the King therefore loſe his Subſidie, or the Aulnager his Fee ‖? No, it was long time ſince ordained by Statute, that all Sorts of Cloths, tho' not of Aſſize, ſhould pay Subſidy and Aulnage. The 43 *Eliz.* c. 10. ſays, 'All Woolen Clothes, of what Na-'ture, Kind, or Name ſoever they be, made within 'this Realme, ſhall be viewed, ſealed, ſearched, *&c.*

Deceits in mingling of Wool, p. 24.

6. The Abuſes are as follow:

1ſt, In mingling Wool of divers Kinds, as Fleece Wool, Fel Wool, and Lambs Wool, which are contrarie one to another, and make the Cloth uneven.

7. Then the mingling of fine Floxe with long Wools, yet coarſe, which being carded together doth hold ſpinning and working, but moſt deceitfull in uſe and wearing. The Uſe of ſhort Thrums, which they take and ſhred into ſhort Length, and then lay it in ſteepe in ſtrong Lye or Liquor, which openeth the Threads into Wool again; and then card it with other Wool, which is worſe than the Floxe, by making more uneven in the ſpinning.

Page 25. This Abuſe hath been put in Practize ſo intollerable, that it is certainly knowne, Clothes have been made with two Parts, Floxe and Thrums, and but one Part in Wool; which hath ſeemed good to the Eye, but in wearing,

'due or belonging to his Majeſties Aulnager, or to hurt 'and prejudice the Uſe and Exerciſe of the Office of Aul-'nager; ſo as after any Cloth is once lawfully ſearched, 'and lawfully ſealed, the ſame be not compelled to be fur-'ther viewed, ſearched, meaſured, or ſealed.'

‖ This Writer, like many others to be produced, would gladly be eſteemed as labouring for the public Good chiefly, though private Intereſt is confeſſedly [a] one Motive with him. He acknowledges himſelf a Deputy Aulnager; as ſuch, is ſolicitous for the Fees of his Office, which had been lately, and ſeemingly ſtill continued to be, conteſted in many Inſtances of the new Drapery. (See *Coke*'s ſecond Inſt. p. 62.) But as that Office has now ceaſed, as well as the Subſidies on Woolen Goods, it is not material to examine this Affair very minutely.

[a] §. 3.

wearing, ſuch weak Strength, as would not endure a fourth Part of the time, like the perfit Cloth. If any make a queſtion, whether theſe Floxe and Thrums, or Sorts of Wool, ſhould be thrown away, and not put to Uſe; it is known that ſeveral Sorts of Commodities are appointed, wherein they may be lawfully put to Uſe.

8. The long Thrums left of broad Cloth, which cannot be wrought to that Shortneſſe of narrow Cloths, thoſe are cunningly knit together, and mingled with Yarne of better Nature, making the one helpe out the other, for the Eaſe of Workmanſhip. The Inconvenience whereof is verie hurtfull; for by reaſon of the many Knots in ſuch Clothes, which after the ſcouring are moſt of them burled out, and afterwards ſhut up again by the Mill; but not ſo helped, but covered for a time, when this Cloth comes to wearing, in ſhort time it proves full of Holles, and unſerviceable in wearing. *Deceits in weaving.*

9. In ſlaying of their Warps, they will caſt the Yarne to prove fine about a Foot broad by the Liſtes; which is ſo far as commonly the Merchant or Buyer looks into them, nor can they, having the Cloths pleighted and bound together with Threads, which will ſuffer no farther Search into them, unleſſe they ſhould cut them up, which is ſeldom or never done, the reſt of the Cloth is wrapt through with a far coarſer Yarne very deceiveably. Page 26.

10. They have a Practize in their Wooſe to ſhut in fine Wooſe at both Ends of their Cloth, which ſerveth for a Muſter to ſhewe, but all the reſt of the Cloth farre worſe; the ſame Ends alſo are better driven in the Loome with better Workmanſhip.

11. When a Cloth made with Flox or Thrums comes to the Mill, who would be a true Searcher, and lay the Fault open, if their Cunning prevented it not, they preſerve ſuch Cloth by extraordinary Means with Tallowe, Pigs Dung, and Urine, which keeps the Flox in, and ſuffereth the thicking. *Deceits in the Mill.*

12. If a Cloth prove tender, and will not thick kindly, in the Mill, by reaſon of its Defects, then have they Medecine to help it, with Oatmeale, and ſuch like, which will remain in the Cloth, and make it ſeem faſt and thicke in the hand, until it come to the dreſſing, where all that ſtopping vaniſheth, leaving it to ſhame by the true Sight of his Subſtance. Page 27.

13. When a Cloth wanteth ſome of his Subſtance, or Allowance in Yarne, which would ſoon bee found being cleane ſcoured, thicked and dried, they will not ſcoure the ſame Cloth clean, but leave a bad Subſtance of Oyl, and Seame in it, thicking it up in the ſame Filth, which proveth noiſome in uſe and wearing.

14. Whereas the Uſe of Tenters is altogether forbidden upon rough Clothes, with great Penalties thereupon; yet in thoſe Countries, where thoſe rough Clothes are made, and ſo to bee ſolde, many Tenters are erected, and uſed upon ſuch Clothes, as ſhould be left in that Order, as it cometh out of the Mill; yet by reaſon of the foreſaid Abuſes in Yarne and Weaving, the Mill leaves them ſhameful in Cockells, *&c.* narrower in ſome Places than other, which they by Colour to even out, do often ſtrain beyond the Limitation allowed for dreſt Cloths, in deceivable manner.

15. When ſuch Clothes have been ſo ſtrained, the Tenter-hookes leave an evident Marke upon them along the Liſts, and at both Endes, which would plainly tell where they had beene, and how uſed; but they have a Tricke to hide that Fault, for with a wet Cloth and hotte Iron they over-runne thoſe Liſts and Endes, which ſhutteth up the Marks or Tongues of the Tenter, as that ſhall tell no Tales.

16. If the Cloth by the ſame tentring do prove hollow in Hand, then doe they alſo overrunne the ſame Cloth with that hot Iron about a Span deepe from the Liſts, for the binding of the Cloth up with Threds keeps it from farther Sight, which Deviſe makes the Cloth feele cloſe in Hand in that Place, howſoever the reſt fall out. Thoſe Cloths which fall out much too light they will let hang abroad in an Evening, ſometimes all Night, to receive the Dew, or elſe do ſpout warm Water into it, which will make it weigh heavier by eight Pounds, beſides to feele more kindly in Hand: this is ſo cunningly done, that it is hardly to bee perceived, yet many of them ſo over-done therewith, as they are returned againe from beyond the Seas rotten with the ſame Uſage.

17. When a Cloth which is made up with Flox and Thrums, is too tender to endure due Workmanſhip, thoſe Cloths ſhall be rowed drie, and wrought with ſolace and ſoft Liquor, to preſerve the Flox from the

Force

Force of the Teſſell, yet make it riſe with a Ground to worke upon in ſhearing.

18. In the tentring of Cloth, which is allowed to ſtraine but half a Quarter in Breadth, and a Yard in Length upon a whole broad Cloth: It is knowne, that divers is ſtrained a Quarter and a half in Breadth, and five Yards in Length, ſo that a Cloth ſtrained to thirtie Yards, beeing wet again hath loſt above a third Part in Length and Breadth: And a Kerſie allowed to bee ſtrained one Naile in Breadth, and halfe a Yard in Length and no more: It hath been known, that a *Devonſhire* Kerſie of twelve Yards hath been ſtrained a Quarter of a Yard in Breadth and three Yards in Length; ſo that in Breadth and Length the Tenters lend them one half of the Price, which as ſoon as it comes to Water, flyes away inviſible to his own Countrie, but never to bee found again. The like Abuſe in other Sorts of Kerſies and narrow Cloths. Page 29.

19. If a Cloth by much Milling is run in, which may cauſe them more Labour to bring unto the Length and Breadth they appoint to, then will they uſe warme Water in the tentring thereof, but commonly the Warmth of the Sunne, which they alwaies obſerve, will make a Cloth yeeld any way in ſtretching.

20. In the finiſhing their Worke of rowing and ſhearing, they will uſe a Deceit with Flox of the ſame Colours of the Cloth, which they can ſheare as ſmall as Duſt, which mixt with Solace, they ſpread upon the Muſters, and where the Cloth may be ſeene, which makes it ſeeme much finer than it is, and feele more ſubſtantial in Hand; but the ſame Cloth lying a while after the dreſſing, the Solace drieth up, and then the ſame Flox flyeth away, leaving the Cloth in his owne Nature againe.

21. For the falſe dying of Colours, both in Wools, Cloth and Stuffes, with the uſe of Logwood, it is intollerable and too common, to the great Diſcredit of the Things ſo died. The Ground of good Colours is ſubſtantial Woading, without which, divers Colours cannot be perfectly made, but whereof many of them are made without Foundation of Woad, which is very prejudicial, for the Truth of the Colour is as material as the Goodneſs of the Cloth. *Colours*, p. 30.

Deceits uſed by ſome Merchants and Drapers, p. 32.

22. There are ſome Merchants that deale in Stuffes, termed new Draperie, eſpecially in Perpetuanas, which are now grown to great Uſe and Traffique, but not like to continue long, by their Falſhood ſince their making, which brought them into Eſtimation: for where at firſt their Pitch in the Loome was twelve hundreth, but now brought to eight hundreth, yet keep their Breadth and Length. There are alſo baſtard Perpetuanas made of Says milled, *Mancheſter* or *Lancaſhire* Plains dreſſed and dyed in form of Kerſies, to the Diſcredit of thoſe Sorts of Goods. Fuſtains another Species of new Draperie, are ſo deceivably made for want of good Government, that the Trade is wholly diſcredited, and like to be entirely loſt.

The Inconvenience and Hurt by theſe Abuſes, p. 35.

23. Whileſt the true making of Cloth indured in reaſonable manner, it was moſt vendible in all Parts. But what maketh thoſe now to refuſe our Cloth being brought to their owne Dores, which before time earneſtly ſought it at ours? Falſhood. What makes the Gentleman complaine of his Wool which lyeth on his Hands? The Clothier complaine of his dead Sales? The Merchant complaine on his Loſſe? all but Falſhood. How thick are Certificates of Falſhood returned upon our Merchant from beyond the Seas? In Provinces beyond the Bounds of *Chriſtendom*, when a Turke or Infidel bruſheth his Garment bare, that he may number the Threeds, and find it to have feeling Sence to runne in at a wet ſhowre, or a hot Iron, then our Chriſtian Profeſſion is called in Queſtion by thoſe prophane People. In Kingdoms nere us, theſe Abuſes have been found ſo odious, and their People ſo much wronged, that they have made Laws and Edicts to baniſh our Cloth out of their Countries, rather deſiring our Wools, wherewith they can make true Commodities. In our own Countrie, where much of our Wool may be vented, the Falſhood of Clothing is ſo common, that everie one ſtriveth to weare any thing rather than Cloth: If a Gentleman make a Liverie for his Man, in the firſt Showre of Raine it may fit his Page for Bigneſſe.

Page 38.

The Remedy by the Aulnager, p. 40.

24. As this full growne Evill hath now procured a daungerous Hurt, ſo hath it verie happily ſalne out in a time which can afford an eſpeciall Remedie; the ill divided Office of Aulnage, which ran to Ruin in many Hands,

Hands, is now reduced into one * worthie Man's Hands; which hath not only Power to command, but alſo Will to performe, all Means and Courſes which may tend to the Reformation of this grievous Enormitie. In this Buſineſs many Hands muſt be employed, whoſe Worke may ſeem harſh to thoſe which ſhall be put out of their wonted Courſe; but to a general Good, everie particular Help muſt be applied: heere muſt be more Paines in the Aulnager, more Care and Truth in the Workman, and more Trouble to the Clothier, but all to a good and profitable End.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Eaſt-India *Company, its firſt Erection (in the Year* 1600*) and Progreſs; the Quantity of Cloth exported by this Company* Anno 1614.

1. QUEEN *Elizabeth*, about the Year 1600, was pleaſed to erect an *Eaſt-India* Company, and to endow them with large Privileges for the Improvement of Navigation, the Glory of the Kingdom, and the Increaſe of Trade; and they immediately ſent thither with three Ships *James Lancaſter*, and every Year ſince they have diſpatched a Fleet thither, with an anſwerable Succeſs and Advantage; beſides, they have to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, placed Factories in *Surat*, in the Great *Mogul*'s Country, in *Maſitipatam*, *Bantam*, *Patane*, *Siam*, *Sagad*, *Macaſſer*, and likewiſe in *Japan*, having obtained glorious Succeſſes, big enough to curb the Inſolence and Baſeneſs of their Adverſaries; but whether it be for the real Advantage of the Kingdom to have ſuch a Maſs of Money exported, and ſo many Men † yearly loſt in the Voyage, I leave Poſterity and wiſer Judges to determine. *Camden*'s Annals of K. *James*.

CHAP.

* The Duke of *Lenox*, to whom this Tract was dedicated.

† A Tract publiſhed *an.* 1615, entitled, *The Trade's Increaſe*,

CHAP. XXX.

Touching Manufactory: A Letter to King James; *being Part of a Tract, entitled,* Obſervations touching Trade and Commerce with the *Hollander*, and other Nations, as preſented to King *James*, and commonly ſaid *(I think untruly)* to have been wrote by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and as ſuch printed with his Remains, *London* 1702 †, but wrote, if not publiſhed, before the Year 1616.

1. THERE have been about ſome fourſcore thouſand undreſt and undyed Cloths yearly tranſported. It is therefore evident, that the Kingdom has yearly been deprived of about 400,000 *l.* within this five and fifty Years, which is near 20 Millions, that would have been gained by the Labour of poor Workmen in that Time, with the Merchants Gains for bringing in dying Stuffs, and Return of Cloths dreſt and dyed, with other Benefits to the Realm, beſides exceeding inlarging of Traffick, and Increaſe of Ships and Mariners.

2. There

creaſe, complains of the Decay of the *Engliſh* Navigation, which he aſcribes to the great Conſumption of Mariners in the *Eaſt-India* Trade, and recommends the Herring Fiſhing as the beſt Means of repairing that Loſs.

In Anſwer to this Tract was publiſhed in this ſame Year 1615, a Pamphlet by Sir *Dudley Diggs*, entitled, *The Defence of Trade*; aſſerting, that the *Eaſt India* Trade was highly beneficial, that the Loſs of Seamen therein was greatly aggravated, and that it had carried out in the Year 1614, Bayes, Kerſies, and moſt broad Cloths dyed and dreſt, to the Kingdom's beſt Advantage, to the Value of 140000 *l.* And that in Spice only it did ſave the Land 69666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

† Mr. *Oldys*, in his Life of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, p. 180, makes many Objections to the Probability of his having been the Author of theſe *Obſervations, &c.* particularly this, *viz.*

2. There would have been gained in that Time about three Millions, by Increaſe of Cuſtom upon Commodities returned for Cloths dreſt and dyed, and for dying Stuffs,

viz. 'That there are ſeveral Manuſcripts of this Tract in 'the Libraries of our Nobility and Gentry, more ancient, 'than the earlieſt Edition in Print (1651), which do all 'entitle it to one *John Keymer*.' And thence, as alſo for other Reaſons, he concludes it to have been his, and not Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s.

I am very willing to acquit that great Man of this particular Letter, touching *Manufactory*, which, in my Opinion, does no Credit to his Memory, abſtracting from the Conſideration of the ill Effects it produced. And indeed, as Mr. *Oldys* obſerves, from ſome Circumſtances, in regard to Time, Sir *Walter Raleigh* could not be the Author of it. And for the like Reaſon, tho' the other Parts of theſe *Obſervations touching Trade, viz.* the *Herring Fiſhery*, &c. agree well enough with the Character of *John Keymer*, (who was a Projector, and whoſe Schemes of Improvement, by a Commiſſion [b] under the Privy Seal, bearing Date *Decemb.* 20. 1622. directed to the Prince, and all the great Officers of State, were order'd to be examin'd, &c.) yet this particular Diſcourſe touching Manufactory, I think, could not be his neither. The Inſtrument of Commiſſion indeed is conceived only in general Terms, authorizing and requiring the Commiſſioners to hear and examine his Propoſals, and all Objections thereto, and to report the ſame, with their Opinions thereon; ſo that nothing particularly for or againſt it, is to be gathered from thence. But conſidering that the Experiment, *of prohibiting the Exportation of all undreſſed and undy'd Cloths*, beyond all Diſpute, had been made already, as will be ſeen, (Chap. 31. §. 2. Chap. 32. §. 2.) and that ſo very lately, as in the Year 1616 [c]; and as that Trial had been attended with notorious extreme bad national Conſequences [d], it is as unlikely that a Project of the ſame kind (without ſo much as mentioning the former Miſcarriage, or ſaying any thing to obviate the ſame a ſecond time) ſhould be offered ſo very ſoon after, as within the ſpace of ſix Years, by any Man in his Senſes; or that ſuch Offer ſhould have been ſo far well received, to be referred to a Committee, for Examination, as that the *South Sea Directors*, in *June* 1725, ſhould, after the wicked Example of their immediate Predeceſſors, have declared a Dividend of 30 *l. per Cent.* at *Chriſtmas* following; and for twelve Years to come, not leſs than 50 *l. per Cent.*; or that Stock would have roſe thereupon, as before it did, if Directors could have

[b] *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. 17. p. 427.

[c] Ch. 33. §. 1.

[d] Ch. 31. §. 2.

Stuffs, which would have more plentifully been brought in and uſed for the ſame.

3. There hath alſo been tranſported in that Time, yearly by Bayſe, Northern and *Devonſhire* Kerſies, white, 50,000 Cloths, counting three Kerſies to a Cloth, whereby hath been loſt about five Millions by thoſe Sorts of Cloths in that Time, which would have come to poor Workmen for their Labour, with the Cuſtoms for dying Stuffs, and the Peoples Profit for bringing them in, with Returns of other Commodities and Freights for Shipping.

4. Baiſe are tranſported white into *Amſterdam*, and theſe being dreſt and dyed, are ſhipped into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Kingdoms, where they are ſold in the Name of *Flemiſh* Baiſe, ſetting their own Town Seal upon them, ſo that we loſe the very Name of our home bred Commodities, and other Countries get the Reputation and Profit thereof. Lamentable it is, that this Land ſhould be deprived of ſo many abovementioned Millions, and that our native Commodities of Cloth, ordained by God for the natural Subjects, being ſo royal and rich in itſelf, ſhould be driven to ſmall Advantage of Reputation and Profit to your Majeſty and People, and ſo much improved and intercepted by Strangers; conſidering that God hath enabled and given your Majeſty Power to advance dreſſing and dying, and tranſporting of all your Cloths within a Year or two; I ſpeak it knowingly, to ſhew how it may be done laudably, lawfully, and approved to be honourable, feaſible, and profitable.

5. All the Companies of the Land, tranſport their Cloths dreſt and dyed, to the good of your Kingdom, except the *Merchant Adventures* *, whereby the *Eaſtland* and

have been found hardy enough to have made a ſecond Attempt of the ſame ſort, ſo ſoon after Thouſands had been ruined by the firſt, and after the Lords (in Parliament) had reſolved concerning the ſame, that '*it was a villainous* '*Artifice, to delude and defraud his Majeſty's Subjects.*'

But as this Letter was neither Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s, nor probably *John Keymer*'s; ſo I think it will be found to have been Alderman *Cockayne*'s, or of his procuring.

* 'The Parliament having prohibited the 'Exportation 'of white Cloths undreſt above the Price of 4*l.* the Cloth: 'the Obſervation of that Statute was found to be very pre- 'judicial

Miſſelden, p. 47. ' 27 *H.* 8. c. 13.

and *Turkey* Merchants, and other Companies, do increaſe your Majeſty's Cuſtoms, by bringing in and ſpending dying Stuffs, and ſetting your People on Work, by dreſſing before they tranſport them; and they might increaſe far more Cuſtom to your Majeſty, and make much

' judicial to the Trade and free Vent of the Cloth in foreign ' Parts. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* granted a ſpecial ' Licence to *The Fellowſhip of Merchant Adventurers* to ex- ' port all Sorts of white Cloths with a *non obſtante* † to ' that Statute. And tho' all other Men ſtood liable to that ' Statute ſtill, and were reſtrained, yet the Utility that ' hereby aroſe to the *Commonwealth* did far exceed the Re- ' ſtraint of the publique Liberty. For within few Years ' after the granting of this Licence, the Vent of Cloth in ' foreign Parts increaſed twice as much as formerly it was, ' during the ſtrict Obſervation of the Statute.'

† ' *The* Pope *in his Uſurpations upon the Church and State* ' *of* England *had been uſed to inſert this Clauſe in his Bulls* ' *for the Diſpoſition of Preferments in* England: *Non obſtan-* ' *te, &c. (i. e.)* Notwithſtanding the Right of Patronage, *Rapin*, ' or other Privilege to the contrary. *This was ſtrongly re-* p. 319. ' *monſtrated againſt by the* Barons *of* England *at a general* ' *Council held at* Lyons *in* 1245. *And yet this Clauſe in a* ' *little time, tho' copied from the Court of* Rome, *crept into* ' *Charters from the Crown.* The firſt Inſtance of it was in ' 1251. *Afterwards it became more frequent; which being* Page 324. ' *obſerved by* Roger de Thurkſeby, *one of the King's Juſti-* ' *ces, he ſaid with a deep Sigh,* Alas! what Times are we ' fallen into! Behold the Civil Court is corrupted in Imi- *Note* 2. ' tation of the Eccleſiaſtical, and the River is poiſoned from ' the Fountain.' *Hence in the foregoing Part of theſe* Memoirs *we may obſerve how frequently* Acts of Parliament *have ſtood for very little; as particularly thoſe remarkable* Statutes *of the* Staple, *which were moſt ſolemnly enacted,* 27 Edw. III. This diſpenſing Power, which is in itſelf horrible and dangerous, and accordingly did at firſt appear ſo ſhocking to good Judges, by long Uſage grew to be more familiar to the Nation, inſomuch that it became as if it had been the ſettled Law of the Land, and a certain eſtabliſhed Maxim, ' *That the Crown had Power to diſpenſe with a pe-* ' *nal Law, when prohibiting only that which is not* malum ' in ſe.' Upon this Principle my Author *Miſſelden* of free Trade (Chap. 32.) defends the Licence with a *Non obſtante* of the *Merchant Adventurers* for exporting white Cloths, &c. altho' contrary to the Statute.

much more Profit to themſelves and this Realm, and ſet many thouſands of People more on Work, for dreſſing and dying, and likewiſe employ more Ships and Mariners, for bringing in dying Stuffs, were it not for the *Merchant Adventurers*, who tranſport their Cloths white, rough, undreſſed, and undyed into the *Low Countries*, where they ſell them to the Strangers, who afterwards dreſs, dye, and ſtretch them to ſuch *unreaſonable* Length, contrary to our Law, that they prevent and foreſtall our Markets, and croſs the juſt Prohibitions of our State and Realm, by their Agents and Factors lying in divers Places with our own Cloths, to the great Decay of this Kingdom in general, and Diſcredit of our Cloth in particular.

6. If the Accompt were truly known, it would be found that they make not leſs (clear Profit only, by Cloth tranſported rough) than ſixty thouſand Pounds a Year. But it is moſt apparent, your Majeſty in your Cuſtoms, your Subjects in their Labour, your Ships and Mariners in not bringing in of dying Stuffs, and ſpending of Allum, is hindred yearly near a Million of Pounds. So that Trade is driven to the greateſt Hindrance of your Majeſty and People, by permiting your native Commodities to paſs rough, undreſſed, and undyed by the *Merchant Adventurers*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Remarks upon the foregoing Letter touching Manufactury.

1. THE Notions advanced in the foregoing Chapter, of promoting the Trade of *England*, by *prohibiting the Exportation of white and undreſſed Cloths*, are, as Mr. *Locke*, upon a like Occaſion expreſſes himſelf, to the Tune of — *If all the World was Oatmeal*. The Principle upon which they are founded, as by the Authors own Words, is evidently this, *viz.* 'That the Ma-'terials of the Woolen Manufacture are ſuch as *other Nations neither have, nor cannot want, but of Neceſſity muſt*

muſt be furniſhed from England.' Taking which Principle for granted, and that this was the genuine Opinion of a Perſon of Sir *Walter. Raleigh*'s great Character; this Letter *touching Manufactory*, has been often tranſcribed with Approbation, by Writers on the ſame Subject, as undoubtedly his, and of good Authority, without obſerving what followed upon it, altho' that is very material to be known; and concerning which,

2. Mr. *Coke* ſays, and *Rapin* from him, 'The *Engliſh* at this Time were not * ſkilled in the Art of *dreſſing and dying* Engliſh *Woolen Manufactures*, but after they were made here, they were vented into *Holland*, where they were *dreſſed* and *dyed*. Alderman *Cockaine* and ſome rich Citizens, having, as was ſaid, promiſed *Rocheſter*, *Northampton*, and the Lord Treaſurer, great Sums of Money to procure them a Patent for the *dreſſing* and *dying* of Cloths, and that the King would ſeize into his Hands the Charter of the *Merchant Adventurers*, for tranſporting *white* and *undreſſed* Cloths; *Cockaine* pretending, that beſides the enriching the Nation, Multitudes of poor People might be employed to the Benefit of the Nation, which now were a Burden to it †. Hereupon the King ſeizes upon the Merchant Adventurers Patent, and grants to *Cockaine* ‖ and others, a new Patent for *dreſſing* and *dying* of' *Coke*, p. 59. *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 175.

* But ſee Chap. 30. §. 5. where it is ſaid, that all the other Companies, beſides the Merchant Adventurers, did tranſport their Cloths dreſs'd and dyed.

† This is exactly the Argument of that Letter to the King, which is commonly aſcribed to Sir *Walter Raleigh*; and is a very good one; for deſiring to *export Cloth dyed and dreſſed*, rather than *white* and *rough*; but it does not therefore follow, that it was good Policy to *prohibit abſolutely* the Exportation of Cloth undyed and undreſſed, unleſs it had been true, (which was alſo alledged in this Caſe) that the firſt Materials of the Woolen Manufacture were *peculiar* to the Kingdom; which, as we ſhall ſee, they were not then, neither now are. ‡ Ch. 30. §. 5.

‖ According to Mr. *Coke*, this Patent commenced about the Year 1609, and was finally ſuppreſſed in 1614. But tho' he was right in the main, as to the Fact; yet was he miſtaken, in Point of Time. An Author (*Malines*) whom I ſhall have further Occaſion to mention preſently, and who wrote

'of Cloths. But *Cockaine*'s Project ſucceeded both Ways 'quite contrary; for the *Dutch* prohibited the Importa-'tion of *dreſſed* and *dyed Cloths* from *England*, and '*Cockaine* and his Company, not only dyed and dreſſed 'the Cloths worſe and dearer (which are ever the Con-'ſequences of Monopolies) than they were in *Holland*; 'but theſe being reſtrained to a Company, they could 'not dreſs and dye the Cloths made in *England*. Where-'upon the making of Cloths ſtood at a ſtand, and infi-'nite Numbers of poor People, which were employed 'in making Cloths, lay idle, and were reduced to a 'ſtarving Condition. This raiſed great Clamours, which

'arrived

wrote both in the Years 1601 and 1622, ſpeaks of this Patent to *Cockayne*, as a Tranſaction in 1616[a]. And with this many other Accounts agree; particularly *Camden*'s, in his Annals of King *James*, *viz.* '*June* 8. 1616. the King 'dined with one *Cockayne*, Alderman of *London*, and dub-'bed him Knight.' Again, 1617. 'There happened ſharp 'Diſputes and Conſultations about re-inſtating the Compa-'ny of Merchant Adventurers, lately put down, which is 're-eſtabliſhed.' *Hence, as Mr.* Oldys *has given good Reaſons why Sir* Walter Raleigh *could not be the Author of the Letter* (Chap. 30.) *touching Manufactory; and there being, at leaſt, equal Reaſons to believe, that* John Keymer *did not write that particular Letter*[b]; *I don't know to whom it can be imputed with more Probability, than to* Alderman Cockayne *himſelf, or to ſome Perſon of his procuring and inſtructing. But if ſo; as a Name which had been render'd vaſtly unpopular by a moſt pernicious Project, could derive no Advantage to the Sentiments contained in that Letter; which Sentiments nevertheleſs being ſince thought as plauſible, as they are pleaſing to monopoliſh Imaginations: It is very remarkable, that either Care has been taken, or elſe it has ſo fallen out by a ſtrange Chance, that the real Author of theſe Sentiments, and the particular bad Conſequences that attended them, have been concealed, while the Letter which contains them, has been conveyed down to Poſterity, under the Cover and Sanction of one of the greateſt Names, which that Age, or this Nation can boaſt of. And, ſince Mankind are ſo apt to reſt their Opinions, eſpecially ſuch as flatter their Inclinations, upon the Authority of great Names, rather than be at the Trouble of enquiring into the Truth and Reaſon of Things, this Letter, touching Manufactory,* (Chap. 30.) *paſſing under the Name of Sir* Walter Raleigh, *is no inconſiderable Part of the* falſe Hiſtory *we ſo frequently meet with upon this Subject.*

[a] Ch. 33. §. 1.

[b] *See* Chap. 30. *Note.*

'arrived at the Council, which to pacify, the Council 'permitted ſome Quantities of white Cloths to be tranſ-'ported; this did at preſent skin the Sore, but not cure 'it. In the next Parliament, in which no Law was 'paſſed, nor any Notice had of it in the Statute Books 'at large, the Commons voting *Cockaine*'s Patent for '*dreſſing* and *dying* Engliſh *Cloths*, to be a Monopoly 'and Grievance, it was recalled and cancelled, and the 'Vent of white Cloths left free.'

CHAP. XXXII.

Free Trade: or, the Means to make Trade flouriſh; wherein the Cauſes of the * *Decay of Trade in this Kingdom are diſcovered, and the Remedies alſo to remove the ſame are repreſented.* London 1622. By *E. Miſſelden* of *Hackney*, Merchant.

1. THE Conſideration of the *Draperies* of this King- P. 40, 52.
dom is of high Conſequence. They are termed *old* and *new*. By the *old* are underſtood *broad Cloths*, *Bayes* and *Kerſyes*; by the *new*, *Perpetuanoes*, *Serges*, *Sayes*, and other Manufactures of *Wool*.

2. The Cauſes then of the Decay of Trade in theſe *Draperies*, are either *domeſtick* or *forreine*. The *domeſtick Cauſes* are ſome *paſt*, ſome *preſent*; thoſe *paſt*, are apparent

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* As one ſpecial Cauſe, as well as Effect, of the Decay of Trade, this Author aſſigns the Want of Money; which Want he in a great meaſure accounts for, 'by the Exceſs of 'the Kingdom in their Conſumption of foreign Commodi-'ties, ſuch as the Wines of *Spain*, *France*, of the *Rhine*, 'the *Levant*, and of the *Iſlands*, the Raiſins of *Spain*, the 'Corints of the *Levant*, the Lawns and Cambricks of '*Hannault* and the *Netherlands*, the Silks of *Italy*, *&c.*' And after inſtancing in many other Particulars of Loſs to the Nation, proceeds to the Head of Drapery.

parent in the late † Diſturbance of the Cloth Trade, which is ſo obvious, that I had rather *paſs by it*, than *preſſe upon it*, becauſe it is paſt; and I would to God that ſo were the Effects of it alſo. In Charitie we may think it was *good* in the *Purpoſe*, tho' it proved ill in the *Practice*: For thereby the Draperies in this Kingdom are much diminiſhed, and the forreine advanced and advantaged. The Quantities of which laſt, were formerly few or none, but now they exceed our higheſt Numbers iſſued out of the Land; as by a Collection thereof which myſelf made in thoſe Parts by his Majeſties ſpecial Command, in the time of Secretary * *Winwood*'s Service, may appear.

3. *Theſe preſent* may be diſcerned in the *Cloth Trade*, either under the *Clothier*, or under the *Merchant*. Under the *Clothier*, either by *ill making*, or *falſe Sealing* the the Cloth.

4. For the making of good and true Cloth, many excellent Lawes have been invented, and enacted by the Wiſdom of the *Parliaments* of this Land, from time to time. And the Statute of the [k] 4th of the King, c. 2. doth ſeeme to be an Epitome or Compendiary of all the former Statutes in this Kinde. In this Statute is preſcribed the true Breadth, and Length and Waight, that may conduce to the making of a true and perfect Cloth, Kerſye or Manufacture. If a Clothier make a Cloth of leſſe Waight than is ſet downe in the ſaid Statute, he offendeth in *Quantitie*; if of leſſe Breadth or Length, or of forbidden Kindes of Wool, he offendeth in *Qualitie*. If a Clothier offend in neither of theſe, by his own *Act*, yet he may offend in *both* by his *Inſtruments* or *Workmen*; either by the *Weavers*, by not *putting in* the Stuffe at *the making*, or by the *Tuckers*, in *pulling out* the Stuffe, *after the making* thereof.

[k] *See* Chap. 28. §. 4. *Note.*

5. A Cloth alſo may be well made, and yet falſe ſealed.

† Occaſioned by Alderman *Cockayne*'s Patent, *i. e.* by prohibiting the Exportation of Cloths undyed and undreſſed, upon a vain and ill grounded Conceit, that *England* alone had the Means of furniſhing Cloth to all other Parts of the World.

Camden's Annals of K. *James*.

* Secretary *Winwood* died at *London*, having been three Years in his Office, *October* 27. 1617.

ſealed. A Cloth may be ſaid to be lawfully made, when it is truly ſealed. For although it may be impoſſible to make ſome Cloths juſt of thoſe Quantities and Qualities preſcribed by the Statute, as the Clothiers terme it, *A Man cannot caſt a Cloth in a Mould:* Yet I hope they will give me leave to ſay, that it is poſſible that a Cloth may be true ſealed, though falſe made. And then a Cloth *ill made* and *true ſealed*, whereby the Buyer may ſee what he hath for his Money, may be ſaid to be a good and lawful Cloth, according to the Statute.

6. Now the Execution of the Statute of *ſearching* and *ſealing* of Cloths, ſeemeth to be referred to two Sorts of Men; which are either the *Aulnager* or *Searcher*. The former may ſeem originally to have been an Officer appointed for that Purpoſe, as well by Notation of the Name, as by ſome *ancient Statutes*.

7. But becauſe the Care of *Aulnage* is committed to ſo [1] *noble* and *honourable* a *Perſonage*, that will not ſuffer any Abuſe in the Execution of that Office; and the ſaid Statute of the 4th *Jacobi*, and the former Statutes of 39 and 43 *Elizabethæ*, doe refer the *ſearching* and *ſealing* of Cloths to certain *Overſeers* or *Searchers*, ſo called by the ſaid Statutes, I will proceed unto them.

[1] *See* Chap. 28. §. 2. *Note*.

8. And foraſmuch as *Execution* is the very *Life* of the *Law*, and the *Prudence* and *Providence* of the State have been very great, in deviſing and enacting ſuch good Lawes, from time to time, as might tend to the Increaſe and Advancement of the *Draperie* of this Kingdom: If therefore now any thing be amiſſe therein, it muſt needs come through want of *Execution* of thoſe Lawes. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*. For theſe *Overſeers* and *Searchers* being ſilly Countrymen, and generally not expert in the *Myſtery* of making Cloth; in the ſearch whereof, there is as much neede of Skill, as in the making; for how ſhould they find the Fault, that know not how it is committed? Theſe Searchers, I ſay, thus being ignorant and unskillful in their Offices, and negligent alſo (in which laſt, it hath been againe and againe confeſſed, that they have ſet the Seals of their Office to Cloths they never ſearched nor ſaw) needs muſt there be a great Abuſe in the *Execution* of thoſe good *Lawes*.

9. Nay, I would I could not ſay, how much our Nation hath been upbraided by the People of forreigne

Parts with this Abuſe, that the *Searchers Seales* of *England*, are *bought* and *ſold* as in a Market, and put on the Cloths by the Tuckers, and other Servants of the Clothiers, as if the ſame had been lawfully *ſearched* and *ſealed* according to the *Statute*; when as the *Searchers Eye* never ſo much as beheld the Cloths.

10. Wherein the People of the *Netherlands* are ſo exact, that you ſhall never find any of their Country Cloths falſe *ſearched* or *ſealed*. For you ſhall have a *Seale* ſet upon the Cloth when it cometh from the *Weavers*; another when it cometh from the *Tuckers*; another when it cometh from the *Dyers*; and that by Men of good Quality, appointed for that Purpoſe in every City and *Towne* where Cloth is made; termed *Curemaſters*, ſo called from the *Care* they ought, and doe performe in the Execution of their Office; wherein indeed they are ſo ſtrict, that you ſhall never finde any of the *Seales* aforeſaid, ſet to any manner of *falſe* or *defective* Cloth.

11. For indeed, the *Searcher* being a *ſworne Officer*, ought to be as a Witneſs without Exception, between Man and Man; that when a Man ſeeth the *Searchers Seal* ſet upon the Cloth, it ſhould ſerve as a true *Certificat* of the true making thereof. It is a great Impiety before *God* and *Man*, to be a falſe Witneſſe in any Caſe: But theſe *Searchers* are falſe Witneſſes *ipſo facto*, when they doe teſtifye to the World by their *Seales*, that thoſe Cloths are *good* and *true*, which indeede are utterly *falſe*. And which aggravateth the matter yet more, *that the King's Seale of Arms*, which is *teſtis omni exceptione major*, ſhould alſo be ſet to Cloths thus falſely *ſearched* and *ſealed*; whereby not only the *King's Subjects*, but *Strangers* alſo in *forreine Parts* are deceived, is a very groſs and grievous Abuſe.

Page 95. 12. Among other Abuſes of this Kinde, one Precedent comes to my Minde, of ten Cloths bought not long ſince by a *Merchant*, of a Clothier of *Wiltſhire*; which Cloths were all *ſealed* by the *Searchers* of that Place, for good and true, according to the Statute. But being tried by the *Merchant Buyer*, and afterwards by the *Sworne Meaſurer* of the Citie of *London*, were found ſo defective in Length, Breadth and Waight, that where theſe *ten* Cloths coſt but 60 *l.* or thereabouts, the Faults

in

in these *ten* Cloths came to near 20*l.* which was one third Part of the Value of the Cloth. And being a notable Contempt of the *Law*, the *Lords* of his *Majesties most Honourable Privie Councell* were informed thereof; who were pleased to send down a *Messenger* into that *County*, and fetcht up both the *Clothier* and *Searchers*, who worthily underwent the *condigne* Censure of the Lords.

13. Under the Merchant also, the *Cloth Trade* suffereth both at *home* and *abroad*. At *home* by *exporting the Materials* [m], either of *Wooles* or *Woolfels*, from the Sea-coasts of *England*, and the Kingdome of *Ireland*; or by overlading the *Cloth Trade* with any *general* or special Charge. The latter I cannot pretermit, for as the chief Weight of the *Cloth Trade* lyeth on the Merchant Adventurers, so also is the Burden of the Charge most felt under that *Trade*. For the *Impositions and impreſt Money* by them laid upon the *Cloth*, for the defraying of the Charge of their Government, and Payment of their Debts, hath driven many good *Merchants* out of the Trade, and given the Clothiers occasion to complaine of want of Buyers, and thrust the Trade itself more and more into Strangers Hands.

[m] *See* §. 18. *Note.*

14. *Abroad* the Cloth Trade suffers by the *unfit* [n] *Place of Residence*, which the Merchant Adventurers are fallen upon in *Holland*; whither they go with great Perill of *Shippe* and *Goods*; and where they come far short of what they hoped for, and of that quick and ample Vent of their Cloth, they found in *Zeeland*. The Agitation of which remove, is vehemently suspected to have moved the *Merchants* of *Holland*, to procure Privileges of the *States Generall*, to *incorporate* themselves and keep *Courts*, to confront the *Merchant Adventurers*, which they never did before; to have drawn the *taring* * of Cloth into *Holland*, where the Buyers are in some sort *Judges* and *Parties*; which before was in the *Mart Towne*, where the Seller was present; and lastly, to have hastened the *great Imposition* † in *Holland*. All which are Matters

[n] *Delft.*

* Which is abating for the Faults thereof.

† *Viz.* 'Upon a Pack-Cloth, 9 Gilders; upon a long 'Cloth, 18 Gilders; upon a fine Cloth, 24 Gilders; which 'is 18, 36, and 48 *s.* of our Money. And yet nevertheless

of moment, and concern the *Cloth Trade* very much, and whereof the *Engliſh Factors* there reſiding doe generally complaine. Moreover the *Merchants* of the *Netherlands* are diſcouraged, whereby many of them have given over their Trades, which heretofore they followed in ample manner unto *Moſcovy*, the *Eaſt Countries* and other Places, in our *Engliſh Cloths* bought of the *Merchants Adventurers* from time to time.

15. Laſtly, there are ill Effects that fall upon the *Common Wealth* in the *Forme of Trade*; and that in reſpect 1. of *Monopolies*; 2. of *ungoverned Trade*. By the former this *Commonwealth* is deprived of that true Liberty of Trade, which belongeth to all the Subjects. By the latter ‖ (which is moſt remarkable in the Trade of his Majeſties

' leſſe they free their own Countrey Cloth of all manner of ' Charge; nay, they give Encouragement to the Makers ' thereof by many *Privileges* and *Immunities*, whereby it ' is more than manifeſt, that they do what in them lyeth ' to *plant* their own *Draperies*, and to *ſupplant* ours.'

The latter Part of this Inference is extremely juſt, and deſtroys entirely the Hypotheſis ſaid, though very wrongfully, to have been Sir Walter Raleigh's; *viz.* ' That the *Engliſh* ' Cloth, or the Materials of which it is made, are ſuch as ' other Nations neither have, nor cannot be without, but ' MUST be furniſhed from hence.' *As to planting of Draperies in* Holland, *the Woolen Manufacture there is at leaſt coeval with the ſame in* England. *But 'tis plain, the* Dutch *aimed to prejudice the* Engliſh Draperies *in favour to their own, and knew themſelves to be in a Condition to do it; otherwiſe they would not have laid their Duties upon* Engliſh Cloths *particularly, becauſe that would have been only taxing themſelves.*

‖ This Author, tho' profeſſing to be an Enemy of *Monopolies* in the Caſe of particular Perſons, yet (being one of the *Merchant Adventurers*) cannot diveſt himſelf of his Attachment to trading Companies, with Charters excluſive, any more than did Mr. *Wheeler*, in his *Treatiſe of Commerce* 1601; altho' the latter could not help owning, *(p.* 13.*)* ' *Bonum quo communius eo majus.*' His *(Miſſelden's)* Argument for it, is, the Neceſſity, as found by Experience, of what he calls *Government in Trade*; and, for Example, the want of which he inſtances, in thoſe that trade into the Dominions of the King of *Spain* without Order or Government. For, ſays he, (*p.* 87.) ' At the Beginning of his ' Majeſties

Majeſties Subjects into the Dominions of the King of *Spain* and the *Mediterranean Sea*) the Trade of this *Kingdome*, conſiſting in *Bayes*, *Perpetuanoes*, *Kerſies*, *Waxe*, Tinne, *Lead*, and other the native Commodities of this Kingdome, is betrayed both into the Hands of thoſe with whom we are in *Amitie*, and others that are with us in *Enmitie*. The one taketh Advantage of our *Unmerchant like Courſes* for lacke of Order; the other of Shippes ſent forth ſtraggling for lacke of *Fleets*; whereby the *Perpetuanoes* and other *new Draperies* have by little and little been made *worſe* and *worſe*, ſo that they are now become quite out of uſe, the *Trade loſt*, the Traders ruinated, the Manufactures by other Nations ſupplied.

16. One Means of Remedie in theſe Caſes, may bee *his Majeſties* gracious Protection of the *Perſian* Trade, now

'Majeſties moſt happie Reign over this *Kingdom*, this 'Trade, by *his Majeſties princely Favour*, was made a *Cor-* 'poration and *Societie* of *Merchants*, and flouriſhed under 'Government. And then the *new Draperies*, and other 'the *native Commodities* of the *Kingdome*, were maintained 'in their Eſtimation of Goodneſſe at *Home* and *Abroad*. 'But ſoon after, by the Clamour of ſome, who preferred 'their own Liberty to the Utility of the Publique, and by 'ſome Miſinformation given to the Parliament of that 'Time, this Company, after it had flouriſhed two Years, 'was diſſolved, and ever ſince expoſed to Confuſion and 'Diſorder; a *Rendeſvouz* for every Stragler and unſkilful 'Perſon.' *But we find from other Hands, that this Trade* ‡ *continued to be in a flouriſhing Way, for ſome Years after; tho' now it was, with every other Branch of Trade, (even that of the* Merchant Adventurers, *as by this Writer's own Confeſſion) in but a languid Condition, and all for the very ſame Reaſons; of which the Truce* * *between* Spain *and* Holland *for* 12 *Years* ° *had been none of the leaſt, as that gave the latter the Opportunity of exerting themſelves more in Trade and Manufacture, and of regarding* England *leſs*. ° Ch. 27. §. 6.

‡ *See* Chap. 27. §. 3. *Note*.

* Of the Year 1616 Mr. *Coke* ſpeaks thus: 'This Year, 'ſeven of the twelve Years Truce, made between the King 'of *Spain*, the Archdukes, and the *Dutch States* in 1609, 'were worn out; and now the *Dutch* hugely ſwelled their 'Trades, not only in *Europe* and *Africa*, but in the *Eaſt-* 'Indies, and to *Turkey*.'

ſo happily ſet on Foot *; ſo that neither the Envy of any at home, nor the *Power* or *Policy* of any abroad, ſupplant us in the ſame. Whereby the *Cloth* and other the *native Commodities* of this *Kingdome*, may be brought into *Uſe* and *Commerce* among the *Perſians* alſo. Which through God's Bleſſing, and *his Majeſties Royall Aſſiſtance*, may be a Means to draw the whole Trade of *Perſian* Silk into this *Kingdome*, and make it the *Magazine* thereof, for the Supply of other Nations, to the weakening the *Turkes* Power, the Increaſe of Trade in this Commonwealth, *&c.*

17. For Remedie of the ill *making* and falſe *ſealing* of Cloth, and both through the non Execution of the Statute of the 4th of the King; the Abuſe whereof is grown to be very great †, and the Reformation hath been by *his Majeſties* Proclamations and otherwiſe, ſo much and ſo often attempted of late Years, and nothing therein effected, that it ſeemeth a very difficult matter to reforme the ſame. Nevertheleſſe, it may pleaſe *his Majeſtie* to commit the Care of the Execution of the Statute to ſome of the principal Cities and Townes in the Clothing Counties, where broad Cloths, Kerſies, and Perpetuanoes are made, and to make them the *Overſeers* mentioned in the Statute, inſtead of thoſe ignorant and negligent Searchers, with reaſonable Allowance for their Paines; I am confident it would prove a ſingular Remedy. For we have not only the Example of the *Low Countries*, where this Courſe is taken, but alſo here with us, as *Worceſter* for that ſort of Cloths, *Colcheſter* for Bayes, and *Canterbury* for Says. In all which Places the former Abuſes are removed by this Means; and the Cloths and Bayes and Manufactures of thoſe Cities triumph in great Credit and Eſtimation.

18. Then

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 181.

* 'In 1612, or ſoon after, Sir *Robert Sherley*, an *Engliſhman*, who had ſerved the King of *Perſia* many Years in his Army, deſiring to ſee his native Country, obtained of that Monarch the Character of his Ambaſſador, and a Letter of Credit to the King, with the Offer of a free Trade to the *Engliſh* throughout the *Perſian* Dominions.

Miſſelden, p. 95.

† 'The *Merchant Adventurers* can give you an Account of *Ten thouſand Pounds* a Year at leaſt Loſſe to this Commonwealth, by the *Tare* or Abatements upon the Cloth in forreine Parts for the falſe making and ſealing thereof.'

18. Then for Remedy of Exportation of Wools, (whereby not only our *Draperies* are impaired, but the forreigne thereby alſo much improved) a Reſtraint ſhould be laid upon the Wooles, and Woolfells of *Ireland*, and the Execution quickened of the Statute ‖ for that Purpoſe

‖ The Statute here meant muſt be an *Iriſh* Statute; altho', from this Writer's Manner of expreſſing himſelf, one wou'd be apt to imagine that the Exportation of Wool both from *England* and *Ireland* was abſolutely prohibited at this Time; whereas it was not literally ſo in either Place. From *England*, Wool might be exported (1 *Jac.* c. 33.[q]) paying the Duty of 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Sack. But by an *Iriſh* Statute 13 *Hen.* VIII. c. 2 the Exportation of Wool from thence (even to *England*) was prohibited, on Pain of forfeiting double the Value thereof. By 28 *Hen.* VIII. all Licences granted by any of the King's Lieutenants, contrary to the true Meaning of the Statute 13 *Hen.* VIII. c. 2. were to be void. By 11 *Eliz.* Seſſ. 3.[r] c. 10. the Exportation of Wool, Fels of Sheep, Goats, Deer, *&c.* Beef, Tallow, Wax, Butter, *&c.* was charged with ſuch Duties, Cuſtoms, and Forfeitures, (Wool, for Inſtance, 14 *s.* a Stone) as amounted to a Prohibition. By 13 *Eliz.* Seſſ. 5. c. 4. the foregoing Act was more ſtrictly enforced. Thus the Law ſtood at this Time. And therefore the Abuſes here meant, muſt have been thoſe of exporting Wool from *Ireland*; or from *England*, without Payment of the reſpective Duties and Cuſtoms. That this was the Caſe in *Ireland*, is not at all to be wonder'd at, conſidering the Statutes above-mentioned; which yet muſt be looked upon, as intended, when made, to excite the People of that Kingdom to Induſtry, ſo far as to manufacture their own Wool, Fels, *&c.* But whatever the Intention of thoſe Acts might be, the Effect, I believe, was, their purchaſing Licences, to export thoſe their native Commodities, from the Lieutenant. This appears to have been a good deal the Practice from the Time of the firſt Statute in this Caſe (13 *Hen.* VIII.) to the 28th of the ſame Reign; and tho' the Statute 28 *Hen.* VIII. made Licences void that were granted contrary to the true Meaning of the Statute (13 *Hen.* VIII.) and the Statutes 11 and 13 *Eliz.* were ſtill more enforcing; yet both the Interpretation and the Execution of thoſe Statutes was in the Breaſt of the Lieutenant, whoſe Power at that Time was not confined within narrow Bounds; for 'before the Kingdom was entirely 'reduced by the Submiſſion of *Tyrone* in the laſt of *Eliza-*'*beth*, there was a Period of 400 Years, which was a vari-'ous Scene of Peace and War between the *Engliſh* Pale and 'the

[q] Ch. 27. §. 1. *Note. Iriſh* Statutes.

[r] *See* Chap. 46. §. 5. *Note. Iriſh* Statutes, 11 and 13 *Eliz.*

pose in *England*, by encouraging the Discovery of such Abuses.

19. As for the Charge upon the Cloth, if for Government or other just Causes in *Societies* and *Corporations*, there be a Necessity of paying of Debts or defraying of necessary Charge, I should think it better Policy to spare the *Cloth* and levy it upon the forreine Commodities.

20. If it appear upon Examination, that *Delft* in *Holland* be inconvenient for the Trade, let it be disposed in some more fit Place.

21. Let all Monopolies, properly such, be rooted out, but let the Trade of *his Majesties* Subjects, which are now loose and distracted, be disposed into Order and Government (of Companies) whereof none hath more need, as hath been shewed [a], than those that trade into the Dominions of the *King of Spaine*; whose Trade the rather calls for Redresse, because it exporteth *Cloth* and other Manufactures of the *Kingdome*, and importeth *Treasure*, the Life of Trade: In both which there is now a marvellous great Defect; and Trade in all Men's Hands, is become so *poore and leane*, that it doth scarce *hærere ossibus*.

[a] §. 15.

CHAP.

' the *Irish* Natives; and the Government of that Part of ' the Island which lay in *English* Hands, was in many things ' under the immediate Administration of the King,' *i. e.* by his Vicegerent there. If then the above-mentioned Statutes were, through Licences, in a great measure eluded by those of the *English* Pale, the *Irish* Natives cannot be thought to have paid any Regard to them before they were reduced; nor afterwards, were either they or the *English* very likely to desist from a Practice to which they had been long accustomed, nor the Lieutenant to forego a Perquisite of his Station which was of some standing, and perhaps at that Time made no inconsiderable Part of his Appointments [b]. *Here then, by the way, it may be noted, that the Exportation of Wool from* Ireland *is a Complaint of a more early Date than is commonly observed; most Persons ascribing its Origin either, 1st, to the Prohibition of* Irish Cattle (18 Car. II.) *or to the prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from* Ireland *to foreign Parts* (1699.)

[b] Ch. 41. §. 7.

CHAP. XXXIII.

An Answer to a Treatise of Free Trade lately published.

By Gerard Malynes * *Merchant*, London 1622.

1. THough the dressing and dying of Cloth was insisted on to be done in *England* in the Year 1616, to establish the Manufacture within the Realme (at which time 64 thousand Cloths were exported) I cannot but observe the Practises † which were used by Combination with other Nations abroad, and domestick Intelligences at home, whereby many good Actions are over-

Page 45. q q Ch. 31. §. 2. *Note.*

* This Writer (who appears to have been a *Dutchman*, and the Author of a larger Book on Trade, entitled, *Lex Mercatoria*) had published a Tract in 1601, under the Title of, *A Treatise of the Canker of* England's *Commonwealth*. It was chiefly about *Exchange*, which had long been a Topic of Complaint against the *Merchant Adventurers*, and of the *Staple*. But therein he had a remarkable Paragraph relating particularly to the Cloth Trade; for which, and some other Passages, *Misselden*, in the foregoing Tract, made sharp Reflexions on this Author. Whereupon comes out this, as an Answer; to which, in the Year following, *Misselden* made a Reply, entitled, *The Circle of Commerce*.

t t *See* §. 4. *That our Cloth*, &c.

† Here is insinuated, that the *Merchant Adventurers*, touched with the Loss of their Patent u, had combined with the *Dutch*, &c. more especially to defeat the Design of *exporting all Cloths dressed and dyed*. But to this *Misselden* replied, 'That it was a foul Aspersion which he (*Malynes*) 'was unable to prove, and was therefore liable to Prosecu-'tion and Punishment for it.' And indeed, tho' the *Merchant Adventurers* might be secretly glad of the Occasion to get their Patent restored; yet had the Case been so, that the *Dutch*, &c. could not have dispensed with the want of *English* Cloth in some Shape, they must have been content to have received it *dress* and *dyed*, rather than not at all, and it would have been out of the Power of the *Merchant Adventurers* to have wholly frustrated the Intentions of the State about it.

u Ch. 30. §. 5. *Note.*

overthrowne, to the general Hurt, and with little Advancement to the particular.

2. It cannot be denied but that by the Draperie of forreine Nations (not only the making of Cloth in the *Low Countries*, but of late Years in *Italy* * and *Spain* alſo) the Trade of Cloth is much diminiſhed both in the Number made, and in the Price thereof, which is a Canker to the Commonwealth. But this is not to be cured by the abating the Price of our Cloth, continually as it were, ſtriving to our undoing, to underſell other Nations. For

3. Firſt, other Nations (buying heretofore our Cloths when they were ſold dearer by one half in Price than they be now) did never complaine that the Cloths were ſold too deere, but they did alwaies complaine of the falſe making of our Cloth.

4. Secondly, other Nations are as willing to ſell unto us their forraine Commodities, as we can be to ſell our Cloths to them. And in this Place it may be convenient to make an Anſwer to the Imputation and falſe Interpretation of the ſaid Author (*Miſſelden*) upon my wiſhing, '*that our Cloth might be ſold at ſo deere a Rate, and according to the Price of forraine Commodities, that thereby other Nations ſhould take to make our Cloths.*' And the Remedy is added, by *ſelling our* Wooles *dearer, whereof they* MUST † *make them.* For in thoſe Days of the latter time

* The Woolen Manufacture, with all other Arts and Improvements, was undoubtedly both in *Italy* and *Spain*, (in its Way from *Egypt* by *Greece*) more early than in *England*, and many other Parts. But this is a Foible which runs through almoſt all *Engliſh* Writers upon this Subject. They will imagine a foreign Woolen Manufacture to have then only firſt exiſted, when they themſelves firſt came to be ſenſible of it; and this through Ignorance of Hiſtory in this Caſe, and a fooliſh Conceit, that the *Engliſh* once had a Monopoly of Cloth, were literally the Clothiers of the World; not conſidering that they never exported half ſo much as would ſupply any one Kingdom, equal, in its Demands of that ſort, to what this Iſland alone conſumed annually.

† Tho' it is not eaſy to make good Senſe of this Argument, yet the Author's Meaning is very intelligible, *viz. That Foreigners could not make Cloth without* ſome *Engliſh* Wool. In Anſwer to which, ſee Chap. 34. §. 1.

time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and unto the ſecond Yeere of King *James* ‡, Wools were permitted to be tranſported by Staplers and others; and the Makers of Cloth beyond the Seas, *muſt needs* have them to cover their Wools in the indraping, which is now prohibited, and the Caſe *is altered*. Hereupon this moderne Merchant ſays, '*This* '*ſeems to have in it much more* Dutch *than* Engliſh.'

5. Returning * to the Cloth Trade and the Clothier, with a Conſideration of the Merchant Adventurers, *Eaſtland Merchants*, *Ruſſia Merchants* and others, and the *Woolgrower* or the *Gentleman*. Let us carefully obſerve them in particular and in general. The *Merchant Adventurers* having ingroſſed into their Hands, by Colour of their laſt Letters Patent, the ſole Power of exporting all white Cloths, coloured Cloths, Kerſies, Bayes, Sayes, Serges, Perpetuanoes, and all other new Draperies into *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Brabant*, and other Parts of the lower and higher *Germany*, hath abated the Trade.

6. For all Merchant Strangers might, and did heretofore export white Cloths out of the Kingdome, paying double Cuſtome, which now they may not.

7. The

‡ This Writer inſinuates here, as if the Exportation of Wool from *England* had been prohibited from the ſecond Year of King *James*; which I venture to ſay, is an abſolute Falſhood; foraſmuch as nothing like it appears in the Statute Books. And I cannot but think what he means by the ſecond Year of this Reign, is the Statute for Tonnage and Poundage including the Subſidy on Wools, 1 *Jac.* c. 33.[w] which was paſſed in 1604, and which becauſe King *James* came to the Crown *March* 24. 1603, he therefore accounts to be in the ſecond Year of his Reign. In this Statute is a Clauſe, which perhaps he thought was new, by which Denizens exporting Wool were to pay the ſame Duty as Strangers, *viz.* 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the Sack. And this, I conceive, he thought was an Abridgment of the Privileges enjoyed by them under Queen *Elizabeth*. This Statute indeed happens to be printed at large; which is not the Caſe of the foregoing ones, on this Head, from *Edw.* IV. But from *Stephens*'s Hiſtory of Taxes, we find[x] that this very Clauſe was inſerted firſt in the Tonnage, &c. Bill, 1 *M.* Seſſ. 2. c. 18. Upon which Foot it had been continued in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, for any thing that appears to the contrary.

[w] Ch. 27. §. 1. *Note.*

[x] Ch. 18. §. 1. *Note.*

* Here the Author had made a Digreſſion, to vindicate his own private Character.

7. The *Merchants of the Staple*, from all the Staple Ports, as *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Briſtol*, *Southampton*, *Hull*, *Boyſtone* and *Newcaſtle*, have heretofore exported either Cloth or Wool, or both, which now they may not †.

8. All other Merchants at large, as well at *London*, as of all other Parts of the Kingdom, have uſually heretofore exported coloured Cloths, Kerſies, Bayes, Sayes, Serges, Perpetuanoes, *&c.* which now they may not. So that all the Trade of the Merchants of the Staple, of the Merchant Strangers, and of all other *Engliſh* Merchants, concerning the Exportation of all the Commodities made of *Engliſh* Wool into thoſe Countries, where the ſame are eſpecially to be vented, is in the Power of the Merchant Adventurers only, and is come to be managed by 40 or 50 Perſons of that Company, conſiſting of three or four thouſand. Nay, one Man alone has compaſſed into his Hands the whole Trade of coloured Cloths and Kerſies, for theſe Parts, by Means of Exchanges and Money taken up at Intereſt. Theſe have borrowed 50 or 60 thouſand Pounds at Uſe, for the Service of the Company, and thereby engaged the Trade and ſet themſelves in Debt; which cauſeth many of the beſt *Merchant Adventurers* to give over the Trade, and become Purchaſers, or Lenders of Money at Intereſt. Many others of them have engaged themſelves in the *Eaſt India* Company, which did carry away the Money and left the Cloth.

9. This ſmall Number to manage ſo great a Trade, incourageth the Clothier to adventure to make falſe Cloth, becauſe it is impoſſible, that ſo few Merchants can ſearch and viſit every Cloth as it ought to be done, and the Clothier's Conſcience is ſatisfied. For he ſaies, that the falſeſt Cloth is anſwerable to the beſt Price, becauſe none may export but they, and *therefore they give what Price they pleaſe*; for this deceitfull Cloth hath cauſed

† In this Year 1622, *July* 20. King *James* forbad by Proclamation Wool to be exported, (*and that was probably before the Publication of this Tract*); which Proclamation does not appear in the publick Acts. But it is obſervable that it is called, A Proclamation, not to enforce the Execution of any Laws already made againſt exporting Wool from *England*, but a Proclamation prohibiting ſuch Exportation. (*See* §. 11.)

cauſed great Jarrs and Differences between the *Engliſh* Merchants, and the forraine Nations for Tare or Rebatements; and the general Report of the Falſeneſſe of the *Engliſh* Manufactures, hath cauſed a wonderful Decay of the Sale thereof.

10. The Trade thus limited to a ſmall Number of a Company, reſiding for the moſt part at *London*, is a general Prejudice to the whole Kingdome; which though it have made *London* rich, it hath made all the Ports, and other Parts of the Kingdome poor; for it enforceth needleſſe and chargeable Carriage and Recarriage of divers Commodities. It cauſeth all Chapmen to give poor and faint Prices for Wool; for every Loſſe and Prejudice that comes upon Cloth and the Clothier, doth fall upon *Wool* and the *Woolgrower*. Page 52.

11. Touching the Exportation of Materials, there is a provident Order taken to prevent the ſame in *England*, by a late Direction and Proclamation [a], prohibiting the Exportation of *Wools*, *Woolfels*, *Wool Yearne* *, *Fullers Earth* and *Wood-aſhes*. And the like will be done in *Scot-* Page 56.

[a] *July* 20. 1622.

* Hence we are to date the Original of prohibiting the Exportation of Fuller's Earth; as alſo the firſt Act of Authority, however the contrary has been ſo often affirmed of *Edw.* III, which did pretend to forbid abſolutely, for Continuance of Time, the Exportation of Wool. That King *James* acted by wiſer Counſels than his immediate glorious Predeceſſor, I can hardly think will be granted in any other Inſtance beſides the preſent. Nor do I imagine he would be juſtified by Poſterity even in this, if his Succeſſors had not, after ſome Time, adopted the ſame Meaſure in good earneſt; which I think was now, and for an Age or two after, but State Craft and Farce; or at the moſt, a Meaſure enveloped in that crude Notion of Trade, which once prohibited the Exportation of Boots and Shoes; for a long time, Leather, Corn, *&c.* in ſhort, almoſt every thing which might be ſuppoſed to bring Money into the Kingdom. But not to digreſs too far, I note here, That after the Nation, by private Frauds and publick Folly, had loſt a Part of its Woolen Trade, which under wiſer Management it had retained, during the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, notwithſtanding the allowed Exportation of Wool; it was now ſuppoſed at leaſt to be attempted to retrieve all, by prohibiting the Exportation of Wool: but this without the leaſt Shadow of Succeſs.

Scotland; and for the better Execution, there is a Committee † appointed of certaine ſelected diſcreet Perſons, under the great Seale of *England*.

12. The

† De Conceſſione ſpeciali directa Domino Preſidenti & aliis concernente Negotium Lanæ.

Oct. 21. 1622. *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. 17. p. 410.

The Inſtrument recites, 'A want of the uſual Vent for 'Cloth—That Wools were fallen from their wonted Price '—That the Merchants were diſcouraged, and the Manufacturers wanted Work—That Rents were fallen, and the 'Cuſtoms and other Duties decayed.

'That a [*temporary*] *Committee* of twelve Perſons had 'been appointed to enquire into the Cauſes of all this, 'who, after conſulting with Gentlemen, Merchants, Clothiers, and the reſt, had made their [y] Report in writing. 'That thereupon a Proclamation had iſſued for Reformation of ſome things.

[y] Ch. 36. §. 3. *Note.*

'That this is to be a *ſtanding Committee* to enquire, firſt, 'why Wool was fallen, and how it may be raiſed to its 'former Price. 2dly, To adviſe how the Tranſportation of 'Wools, Woolfels, Fuller's Earth, *&c.* into foreign Parts, 'and into *Scotland* and *Ireland*, may be prevented; and 'how Offenders contrary to Proclamation [z] lately made in 'that Caſe, may be diſcovered and puniſhed. How the 'Wools of *Ireland*, not draped there for *Uſe* or *Merchandize*, may moſt commodiouſly be tranſported into *England*, bought at reaſonable Prices, and employed; alſo 'the Wools of *Scotland*.

[z] *Note, it is not ſaid contrary to any Statute.*

'And alſo, leſt the whole Quantity ſhould occaſion a 'Glut, ſo as to vilify the ſame, to conſider whether there 'will be in truth any ſuch Exceſs; and if ſo, how the Inconvenience may be prevented.

'To reviſe the Laws for true making of Drapery, and 'particularly to make Orders touching the new Draperies, 'concerning which no Statutes had yet been enacted.

'And, whereas the Brogers and Jobbers of Wool had 'been complained of, to enquire if there be any Good at 'all from them; and if there be, how, and where, they 'are fit to be continued.

'To have a ſtrict Eye to the Balance of Trade, *&c.*'

☞ *If we look into the Hiſtory of this Part of King* James's *Reign, we ſhall find, that having quarrelled with his Parliament, he had diſſolved it, and was determined to govern without the Advice and Aid of that great Council; and that being in the utmoſt Diſtreſs for Money, he had Recourſe to extraordinary and illegal Meaſures for extorting it from his Subjects.*

12. The *Price of Wool* being fallen from 33 Shillings the Todde, to 18 Shillings and under, diſimproving the Revenue of Lands, can never increaſe Trade, but impoveriſh the Kingdome and all landed Men. *Wool ſaid to be fallen from* 33 s. *to* 18 s. per *Tod.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Circle of Commerce, a Reply to Malynes. By *E. Miſſelden*, 1623.

1. TO affirm, as *Malynes* does *, '*That the Makers of Cloth beyond the Seas, cannot* † *make their Cloth without our* Engliſh *Wool*,' is as true, as that wherewith the State has been ſo much abuſed, *that the* Dutch *could not ſubſiſt without our* Engliſh *Cloth*. That the latter is falſe, our own ill Experience can tell us. That the former is fooliſh, all *Malyne*'s Countrymen, and thoſe that know the State of *Dutchland*, will witneſs againſt him.

M 2. Tho'

Subjects. Now, that under theſe Circumſtances, he ſhould chuſe to prohibit, in good earneſt, *the Exportation of Wool, and thereby forego a Revenue that probably brought him ſomething, and to which he was legally entitled, is what all Perſons acquainted with thoſe Circumſtances, the Character and Diſpoſitions of that Prince, will think ſtrange, or rather incredible. It is therefore to be ſuſpected, that the real Intention of the Proclamation mentioned, was not to* prevent the Exportation of Wool, *but either to exact, under the Colour of Licences, more Money, from ſuch as ſhould be deſirous of exporting it, than by Statute they were obliged to pay; or elſe, by taking leſs than the Statute required, to promote the Exportation of Wool by Licences, rather than in a clandeſtine Manner without paying any Duty. This is a rational Suppoſition, both from the Circumſtances premiſed, and from the Tenour of this Commiſſion, and from other Circumſtances, which will appear hereafter.* (See Chap. 36. §. 3. *Note.*)

* Chap. 33. §. 4.

† Here we ſee how, even by a Cloth Merchant, the Notion is ridiculed, '*That Foreigners cannot do without* ' Engliſh Wool.'

2. Tho' it hath pleaſed his Majeſty, in his laſt Letters Patents, to conſer many Privileges and Immunities upon the *Merchant Adventurers*, in Point of Exportation of white and coloured Cloths, Bayes, Sayes and *other new Draperies*, there is no more Power given them in theſe latter, than in the former Letters Patents of the ‖ 8 *Hen.* IV. 1 *Hen.* V. 8 *Hen.* VI. 2 *Edw.* IV. 1 *Rich.* III. 20 *Hen.* VII. 4 *Hen.* VIII. 1 *Edw.* VI. 1 *Phil.* and *Mary*, 26 and 28 *Elizabeth*. And whereas *Malynes* ſuggeſteth that *all Merchant Strangers, might and did heretofore export white Cloths*, that is as far from the Truth as the former. For whereas by the Statutes of 3 *Hen.* VII. the 3 *Hen.* VIII. 20 and 23 of the ſame King, no white Cloths might be tranſported rough above 40*s.* the Cloth, in the time of *Hen.* VII. and five Marks and four Pounds a Cloth in *Hen.* VIII. it came to paſs by the diſcreet Carriage of the Cloth Trade in the
Page 56. *Merchant Adventurers* Hands, that the Trade of Cloth thrived ſo faſt, and the Prices of Cloth roſe ſo much, that few or no Cloths could be ſhipped out by any, whe-
[b] Ch. 30. §. 5. *Note.* ther *Engliſh* or *Stranger*, but by a *non obſtante* [b] to the ſaid Statutes; whereupon ſpeciall Licenſes were granted from the State; as Queen *Elizabeth*'s free Licenſe of 30 thouſand white Cloths a Year to the *Merchant Adventurers*, and other Licenſes to the Earl of *Cumberland*. But when any Queſtions aroſe upon any of them, they were reſtrained to the *Merchant Adventurers* only.

3. If *Malynes* had ſaid, that the Merchant Strangers might heretofore export white and coloured Cloths dreſt, Kerſies, Bayes, Sayes, Perpetuanoes, and other *new Draperies* into the *Merchant Adventurers* Privileges, paying Strangers Cuſtoms, he had ſaid true. And ſo they either doe or may doe now.

4. The *Merchant Staplers* never ſhipped any Cloths
Page 57. as *Staplers*, but as *Merchant Adventurers*; and ſo they may doe ſtill, ſuch of them as are free of that Company.

5. If there be three or four thouſand of the Merchant Adventurers, then certainly there is leſſe need of more Help.

‖ Hence we perceive, that the Merchant Adventurers
[c] Ch. 25. §. 1. were a Company, but under another Name [c], exporting Cloth, ſo early as *Hen.* IV.

Help. And if there be ſo few that trade, then there will be but cold Comfort for new Men to begin, where the old have left off. It is true, that the Trade through the late Diſturbance [p] of it, the great Quantities of Cloth made in forraine Parts, and the too heavy Charge fallen upon the Cloth, is become ſo poor and lean, that there is no Comfort in the World in it for new nor old. But it is moſt falſe, that forty or fifty Perſons manage that Trade.

[p] Ch. 32. §. 2. *Note.*

6. That one Man, which *Molynes* picks and points at, is indeed an ample Trader in *coloured Cloth*, but not in Kerſies, yet ſo as there are very many others of the Company, that are alſo Traders in coloured *Cloth*.

7. It is true, that the Merchant Adventurers Trade is engaged in a great Summ of Money *, yet not for the Page 59.

M 2 Service

* 22 *Jac.* 'This Buſineſs being in Debate in the Parliament, there was a Certificate given of 25000 Cloths made in *Holland*; and it was made apparent to the Parliament, that the Cauſe hereof was the Reſtraints, which were uſed to be made by the aforeſaid Company; whereupon theſe two Votes paſſed in full Parliament. *Interlopers Reaſons* 1662, *againſt the Merchant Adventurers.*

Die Veneris 30 Aprilis, 22 *Jac.*

'*Upon a Report made this Day to the Commons Houſe of Parliament, from the general Committee for Trade, concerning the Impreſt Money ſet by the Company of Merchant Adventurers of* London *upon Cloth; and after long Debate thereof in the Houſe, it is reſolved and declared by the ſaid Houſe of Commons, the Opinion of the Houſe is, That ſuch ſetting of the Impreſt Money upon Cloth, is unlawful, unjuſt, and a Grievance to the People; and is to be taken off, and no longer to be continued by them. And upon further Report by the ſaid Committee, and like Debate in the ſaid Houſe, it is further declared, That the Houſe thinks fit, that as well the Merchant Adventurers, as all other Merchants promiſcuouſly, may tranſport to all Places, all Northern and Weſtern Dozens, Kerſies, and new Manufactures.*'

H. ELSING, Cler. Dom. Com.

Die Lunæ 10 Maij, 22 *Jac.*

'*Upon a Report made this Day to the Houſe of Commons from the Grand Committee for* Trade, *concerning the Freedom of Exportation of dyed, and dreſſed, and all coloured Cloths, into the Parts of* Germany *and the* Low Countries,

'*by*

Service of the Company, but of the State. It is not the ſmall or great Number of the Merchants, that encourageth the Clothier to make falſe Cloth, but the want of Execution of the Statute 4 of the King. [d]

[d] Ch. 28. §. 4. *Note.* Page 62.

8. *Malynes* calls the *Staplers* to witneſſe againſt the *Merchant Adventurers*, when he and they are both their profeſſed Adverſaries. He addeth, 'That our WOOL *is* 'fallen from 33 *Shillings a Todde to under* 20 *Shillings.*' † *Animus meminiſſe horret, luctuque refugit!*

Page 114. *Wool is confeſſedly fallen from* 33s. *to under* 20s. per *Tod.*

9. The

'by other Merchants, beſides the Merchant Adventurers; 'and after a long Debate thereof in the Houſe, it is reſolved 'and declared by the ſaid Houſe of Commons, that the Opini-'on thereof is, That other Merchants beſides the Merchant 'Adventurers may freely trade with deyed, and dreſſed, and 'all ſorts of coloured Cloth into Germany and the Low 'Countries.'

H. ELSING, Cler. Dom. Com.

Here note, That the Parliament did not think fit to attack the Patent of the *Merchant Adventurers* for exporting white and undreſt Cloths. But a Monopoly in that ſingle Article, we ſhall find [e], did not content them.

[e] *See* Chap. 36. §. 5. *Note.*

† Though neither this Writer, nor *Malynes*, is ſo exact as to name the Time, when the Price of Wool began to abate, the firſt Beginning and Cauſe thereof is accounted for, but indeed at a diſtant Period, of 40 Years, in the Manner following.

Anſwer of the Merch. Advent. to the Interlopers, 1662.

'Sir *William Cockaine*, 13 *Jac.* preſented to the King a 'moſt ſpecious Project to dey as well as dreſs all the Woolen 'Manufacture of this Kingdom before Exportation. This 'was ſo far embraced, that the Fellowſhips Charter was 'called in, and this new Company of ſo high and popular 'Undertakers, incorporated in their ſtead.——But preſent-'ly the *States General*, and great Cities of *Germany*, re-'ſenting this Deſign, baniſh all Cloth of *England* deyed in 'the Cloth: and altho' his Majeſty, within leſs than two 'Years, did, upon the Infeaſibleneſs of the Undertaking, 'annul this new Patent, and reſtore the Fellowſhip to their 'ancient Charter, the *States General* to this Day would 'never revoke this Proſcription of *Engliſh* Cloth deyed in 'the Cloth. But they have ever ſince proceeded further, 'as well againſt all Cloth of one Colour, and not mixed, 'as other Manufactures of Wool of this Kingdom. When 'this Project ſo fell to the Ground, the Clothier cried out 'that he could not find a Market for what he made. The

'Wool-

9. The Ballance of the Trade of the Kingdom for one whole Year, from *Chriſtmas* 1621, to *Chriſtmas* 1622, *viz.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Total of Exportations —	2,320,436	12	10
of Importations — —	2,619,315	00	00
The Imports exceed the Expors [e]	298,878	07	02

[e] *See* Chap. 27. §. 7. *Note.* Page 130.

So then we ſee it to our Griefe, that we are fallen into a great *Underballance of Trade* with other Nations. We felt it before, but now we know it. We found it before, but now we ſee it. And if all the Cauſes of this our *Underballance*, were contracted in two Words, they Page 132.

 are

'Wool-grower as much clamoured as them, for that their 'Wools either ſtuck upon their Hands, or did not yield 'them that Price as formerly.'

But I beg Leave to think, that had the *Engliſh* had a Market, as uſual, beyond Sea, for Wool, the Price thereof could not have been ſo greatly affected by what has been here mentioned, as to make the Difference from 33*s.* to 18*s.* And therefore I conclude, there was a Concurrence of ſome other Cauſes. The Price of Wool, as well as many other Things, does ebb and flow; beſides which, the Duty of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the Sack, amounted ſomewhat towards a Prohibition; and the Proclamation mentioned of *July* 20. 1622. [f] forbidding abſolutely the Exportation of Wool from *England*, and permitting it to be imported from *Ireland*, had filled up the Meaſure of the Grower's great Loſs, of near 50 *per Cent.*

[f] Ch. 33. §. 11.

But then we ſhall find, that notwithſtanding the Prohibition, by Proclamation, Licences were granted for exporting Wool; which probably is ſome Reaſon why the Grower had yet a Price for the ſame, that at many times ſince has been thought a good one. What we call the beſt, *i. e.* the beſt long combing Wool in *England*, has not, from the Reſtoration (when the Exportation of Wool, we ſhall ſee, was firſt prohibited in good earneſt) ſold, at a Medium, for 18*s.* a Tod; however, from 1721 to 1742 incluſive, not at any thing near it; altho' Silver in this Period has grown abundantly cheaper than in the Time of King *James* the Iſt; and although the Woolen Exports alone from *England* have been ſo much larger in this latter Period, as to exceed conſiderably the total Exportations in the Reign of King *James*. (*See* Chap. 27. §. 7. *Note.* Chap. 34. §. 9. compared with Chap. 171. N° 5.)

are *Poverty* and *Prodigality*. The Poore ſtarve in the Streets for want of *Labour*; the Prodigall excell in Exceſſe, as if the World, as they doe, ran upon Wheels.

CHAP. XXXV.

King CHARLES 1625---40.

1. FROM the laſt Section of the laſt foregoing Chapter, it appears that *England* had not only fallen under an Underbalance of Trade, but that the whole Exportations of the Kingdom very little exceeded, if they did not come ſhort of, what the Woolen Manufactures alone exported, amounted to in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, as far as may be concluded from *Camden*'s Account [a] in the Beginning, and from *Wheeler*'s, at the latter End of her Reign [b]. So that the Woolen Trade of *England* muſt be reckoned to have declined conſiderably under King *James*, eſpecially from the memorable Project of Alderman *Cockaine* in 1616. And the Beginning of this Reign, by reaſon of the Wars with *France* and *Spain*, cannot be ſuppoſed to have been more propitious to the Trade of *England*, than was the latter part of King *James*'s.

[a] Ch. 20.
[b] Ch. 25, 26.

2. But a general Peace abroad enſuing about the Years 1629 and 1630, from that Time to the Beginning of the Civil Wars, there is room to think, that the Woolen Trade of *England* flouriſhed in ſome tolerable degree,

Lord *Clarendon*.

[c] Lord *Clarendon*, ſpeaking of the Felicity of the Times before the long Parliament, notwithſtanding ſome Invaſions on the Subject, ſays, 'I muſt be ſo juſt as to ſay, that during 'the whole Time that theſe Preſſures were exerciſed, from 'the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year, to 'the Beginning of this [*the long*] Parliament, which was 'above twelve Years, this Kingdom enjoyed the greateſt 'Calm, and the fulleſt Meaſure of Felicity that any People 'in any Age, for ſo long Time together have been bleſſed 'with, to the Wonder and Envy of all other Parts of 'Chriſtendom.

'In

degree, by means eſpecially of the free Intercourſe this Nation had with *Spain*; while upon the Expiration of the Truce between that Kingdom and the United Provinces, the War had broke out afreſh between them, which laſted till the Peace at *Munſter* 1648.

3. Only it muſt be remembered, that about the Year 1634, Archbiſhop *Laud* impoſing ſome too rigorous Injunctions upon the Deſcendants of the *Dutch*, the *Walloons*, and *French Proteſtants*, who had taken Refuge in *England* ſince *Edw.* VI. thouſands of Families were frighted out of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* into *New-England*; and about 140 Families of the Workers of thoſe *Woolen Manufactures*, wherewith *Hamburgh* † and the Ccun- *Rapin.* *Coke*, p. 358.

'In this Compariſon, I am neither unmindful of, nor 'ungrateful for, the happy Times of Queen *Elizabeth* and 'King *James*, —— But——

'The Happineſs of the Times I now mention, was in-'vidiouſly ſet off by this Diſtinction, that every other King-'dom, every other State, was entangled and almoſt de-'ſtroyed by foreign or domeſtick Wars, while theſe King-'doms were alone looked upon as the Garden of the 'World.

'*Scotland*, in a Competency at leaſt, if not Exceſs of 'Plenty, and in a Temper free from Rebellion. *Ireland*, 'which had been a Sponge to draw, and a Gulph to ſwallow, 'all that could be got from *England*; was reduced to that 'degree of Huſbandry and Government, that it not only 'ſubſiſted of itſelf, and gave this Kingdom all that it might 'have expected from it, but really increaſed the Revenue 'forty or fifty thouſand Pounds a Year, beſides a conſider-'able Advantage to the People by the Traffick and Trade 'from thence.

'When theſe Outworks were thus fortified, it was no 'wonder if *England* was generally thought in a State of 'Security and great Happineſs —— Trade increaſed to that 'degree, that we were the Exchange of *Chriſtendom* (the 'Revenue from thence to the Crown, being almoſt double 'to what it had been in the beſt Times) and the Bullion of 'neighbour Kings brought to receive a Stamp from the 'Mint of *England*.'

† Mr. *Coke* ſays, 'As the *Spaniſh* Trade was moſt en-'riching to this Nation, ſo the Trade to *Hamburgh* and the 'Countries and Kingdoms within the *Sound*, with the 'Woolen Manufactures, was the beſt the *Engliſh* had for

'the

tries within the *Sound* were ſupplied, went into *Holland*, where the *Dutch*, as wiſe as Queen *Elizabeth* was in entertaining the *Walloons*, perſecuted by the Duke of *Alva*, eſtabliſhed theſe *Engliſh* Exciſe free, and Houſe Rent free for ſeven Years; and from theſe the *Dutch* became inſtructed in working theſe Manufactures, which before they knew not. ‡

CHAP. XXXVI.

King CHARLES 1625---40.

1. WHAT in the foregoing Chapter is tranſcribed from Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Coke*, is all that our Hiſtorians have mentioned upon the Subject within this Period. During which, the Sittings of Parliament were ſhort and rare, ſo that no Statutes occur; and for the ſame Reaſon, I conceive, not a ſingle Tract about it, ſo far as I can be informed. And indeed it may be obſerved, that occaſional Treatiſes upon the Subject of Trade, have always an Eye to the Meetings of Parliament. But as Government never dies, and cannot ſleep long, what was wanting of Legiſlature, the executive Power undertook to make up in this Caſe. And the Privy Council unhappily uſurping the Province of the Lords and Commons, Proclamations were made to ſerve inſtead

'the Employment of People, Shipping and Navigation. 'The Company which traded into the *Sound*, was called 'the *Eaſt Country* Company; and Queen *Elizabeth*, and 'after her King *James*, to honour them, called it the Royal 'Company.

'This Trade the *Engliſh* enjoyed Time out of Mind; 'and the Cloths which ſupplied it, were principally made 'in *Suffolk* and *Yorkſhire*. And *Ipſwich*, as it was the 'fineſt Town in *England*, and had the nobleſt Harbour 'on the Eaſt, and moſt convenient for the Trade of the 'Northern and Eaſtern Parts of the World, ſo till this 'Time it was in a flouriſhing State, as any other in *Eng-* 'land.'

‡ See Ch. 39. §. 4. *Note.*

inſtead of Acts of Parliament; ſeveral of which Proclamations are here ſelected for the Readers Obſervation, *viz.*

2. *A Proclamation touching the* Eaſtland *Merchants.* * March 7. 1629.

3. *A*

* Reciting, 'Whereas the *Society and Company of Eaſtland Merchants*, trading to the *Baltique Seas*, have, by the Space of *fifty Years* at leaſt, had a conſtant Poſſeſſion of Trade in thoſe Parts, by Letters Patents under the *great Seal*, for the ſole bringing in and carrying out to and from thoſe Parts ——— *Polonia Wool*, &c. with general Prohibitions to all others. We minding that the ſaid Society ſhall not ſuſtain any Violation or Diminution of its Priveleges, do ſtraightly charge all our Cuſtomers, &c. that they ſuffer not any broad Cloth, Dozens, &c. or ſuch like *Engliſh* Commodities, to be ſhipped for Exportation to thoſe Parts; nor any Hemp, Flax, Yarne, Cable Yarne, Cordage, Pot-aſhes, Soap-aſhes, Polonia Wool, &c. or any other Commodities whatſoever of thoſe foreign Parts (Corn and Grain excepted) to be landed, except only ſuch as ſhall be brought in by ſuch as are *free* of the ſaid Company.' *Rymer*, vol. 19. p. 129.

Whether this was the Reſult of Money paid to the Crown and its Officers, or only of ill-judged Policy in theſe Matters, miſtaking the Benefit of particular Companies of Merchants for the Intereſt of Trade, and the Nation in general, I will not take upon me to determine. I ſuſpect the former; but may venture to pronounce certainly, that upon whatever Motives this was done, it was, to all Intents and Purpoſes, confirming a Monopoly.

I muſt further remark, That in theſe Times, one Article of the Imports of the Engliſh Eaſtland Company, *appears to have been* Polonia Wool, *which, tho' no way prohibited, ſeems not to have been practiſed of late Years: And I conclude the Reaſon of that Intermiſſion is, becauſe the* Engliſh Wool *is render'd ſo much cheaper, than the* Wool of Poland, *as that the latter can have no Vent here, as formerly it had. But this ſhows, that the Cauſes commonly aſſigned for* prohibiting the Exportation of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Wool, *are not founded in Truth; conſequently they are not the true Cauſe of this Policy; and that the* Engliſh Wool-grower *lies under the particular Hardſhip of having his Produce depreſſed below its natural Value, for Reaſons that are not ſo well to be avowed.*

April 17. 1630. 3. *A Proclamation for preventing the Exportation of Wools, Woolfels, Yarne, Fullers Earth, and Wood Aſhes, and of Hides both tanned and raw.* †

4. *A*

Rymer, p. 155. † Reciting, 'That the late King *James*, after Report 'made by divers Perſons of Quality, That Exportation of 'Wools, &c. *were a great Means to the foreign making of* 'Cloth, *and a principal Impediment to the Vent of Cloths* 'made in England, did by his Royal Proclamation, *July* 20. 1 Ch. 33. §. 11. *Note.* '1622. ſtraightly charge and command, that no Manner of 'Wools, &c. ſhould be tranſported out of the Realm, or 'from *Ireland*, except to *England*. Which Proclamation 'by his late Majeſties Deceaſe determined. And yet we find 'the Reaſon and Neceſſity do ſtill remain. —— We there'fore have thought fit to renew the ſaid Proclamation, with 'further Prohibition of the Exportation of Hides both tan'ned and raw, (by reaſon of the Exportation whereof, as 'we are informed, *divers of the like Inconveniences have and* 'do daily happen) upon Pain of Confiſcation, &c. and the ſe'vereſt Cenſure of *our Court of Star-Chamber*, and ſuch 'other Pains, as by our Laws and Prerogative Royal may 'be inflicted.

'And in caſe there be now in Force any *former Licences*, 'or Authorities heretofore given or granted by us, or any 'of our Predeceſſors, for Tranſportation of Woolls, we do 'hereby revoke and diſanull the ſame, and are reſolved 'that none ſuch hereafter ſhall be granted.

'And for the better Utterance of Cloth within this our 'Kingdom, we do ſtraightly charge and command, That 'when, and as often as upon the Occaſion of any Burials 'or Funerals, any Blacks be hereafter given or worn, that 'then ſuch Blacks and Mourning Stuffs ſhall be only of 'Cloth and Stuffs made of the Wools of this Kingdom, and 'not elſewhere, or otherwiſe.'

I remark upon this Proclamation,

1ſt, *The Reaſon aſſigned for* prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool, '*That it was a great Means to the* 'foreign making of Cloth, *and a principal Impediment to the* 'Vent of Cloths *in* England.' *This is nearly, if not altoge*ther the ſame Notion with that aſcribed, tho' falſly, to Sir Walter Raleigh (*See* Chap. 31. §. 1.); *which Notion ſee exploded by a Merchant* (Chap. 34. §. 1.) *But we ſhall have frequent Opportunities of proving, that Foreigners have ample Means of making Cloth without the Help of* Engliſh *or* Iriſh Wool; *as alſo that the chief Obſtruction to the Vent of* Engliſh

4. *A Proclamation to reſtrayne the Tranſportation of Corne, Wool, Woolfells, Fullers Earth, and Leather.* * Sept. 30. 1632.

5. *A*

Engliſh *Cloth, hath ever been, not the Exportation of* Engliſh *Wool, but another Cauſe, namely Prohibitions, or Impoſitions on* Engliſh *Cloth,* &c.

2dly, *It is next to be obſerved,* that as *the Proclamation mentioned of King James, determined with his Life; ſo we may believe that Wool had now been freely exported for five Years.*

3dly, *Whereas mention is here made of former Licences granted for the Exportation of Wool, that proves what was before* ' *a reaſonable Conjecture, that King* James's *Proclamation tended to the Exportation of Wool, and not to a Prevention thereof, that it was only a Device for Money, and to blind the People. In like manner, the Proclamation of King* Charles *was pleaſing to the Manufacturers, at the ſame time that it made way for his extorting Money by Licences, which he was no way entitled to by Law. And altho' King* Charles *ſays,* ' *No ſuch Licence ſhall be granted* for the future; ' *yet as he, by diſagreeing with his Parliament, had juſt then put himſelf into the like Circumſtances with his Father in* 1622; *ſo there is little Reaſon to imagine, that he meant more or leſs by this Proclamation, than his Father before him, in the like Circumſtances, and in the ſame Caſe, had done; or that it was other than one Deviet, among many, to relieve himſelf without the Aid of Parliament. And to this he had a ſtronger Inducement, than even King* James *himſelf had; as the latter was entitled by Act of Parliament to* 3l. 6s. 8d. *from Denizens for every Sack of Wool tranſported; but Tunnage and Poundage* ' *(of which the Subſidy on Wool had, from* Ed. IV. ' *conſtantly made a Part) not having been granted to King* Charles, *as to his Predeceſſors; altho' he continued to exact the ſame, yet was it not obtain'd without Force; conſequently the Revenue came very ſhort in theſe reſpects, of what otherwiſe it might have been.*

k Ch. 33. §. 11. *Note.*

l *Rapin,* vol. 2. p. 285.

I may obſerve further, that his including tanned Leather in the ſame Proclamation, is a further Evidence, if not of the real Motives upon which it iſſued, yet of the very crude Notions entertained in thoſe Times, concerning Trade in general.

* ' The King's Majeſty taking into Conſideration the evil ' Practices of Corne Maſters and Hoorders of Corne, as by ' Merchants and others, to inhance the Price of Corn and ' Grain; which hath appeared not only in the late Dearth, ' but in the Years now paſt, when by the Goodneſs of God, ' there was ſuch Plenty and Abundance of Corn, as ſeldom ' hath been greater; and yet the Rates and Prices of Corn ' in *Rymer,* p. 387.

'in many Parts of this Kingdom, especially in the City of 'London, and the Parts near adjoining, were kept up at 'far higher Prices, than was fit to be in a Time of so ge-'neral Plenty; and that howsoever by the provident and 'constant Care of his Majesty and his Privy Council, 'Transportation of Corn was restrayned, even in that plen-'tiful Year, yet in many Parts of the Kingdom false Ru-'mors were and are spread and divulged, of great Trans-'portation of Corn *licensed* and authorized, to the great 'Dishonour of his Majesty and the State, and of a wicked 'Purpose to keep up Corne and Grain at inordinate Prices.

'His Majesty with the Advice of his Privy Council, doth 'hereby declare, that the said Rumors were most false, '*&c.*

'And albeit his Majesty is well satisfied, that by the re-'maining Store of the last, and the Increase of this Year, 'there is ample and good Provision of Corne to supply the 'whole Kingdom; yet considering the want of Corne in 'other Parts might occasion the Transportation thereof, 'which would necessarily draw on an Inhancement of the 'Prices: Therefore his Majesty doth forbid the Transpor-'tation of Corne for one Year, and from the End of 'that Year, until his Majesty shall signify his Pleasure to 'the contrary.

'And whereas his Majesty is informed, that sundry Mer-'chant Strangers of foreign Countries in Amity with his 'Majesty, have accustomed, under the Pretence of taking 'in a Supply of fresh Victuals for their Necessities, to 'carry away much Beef, *&c.* His Majesty doth hereby 'command, that the same be not hereafter suffered to be 'done.

'And further his Majesty doth prohibit and forbid, that 'Wool, Woolfels, Fullers Earth, tanned Leather, or raw 'Hides, be at any Time hereafter transported.

'And his Majesty being likewise informed, that great 'Abuses have been committed in Times past, by Corrup-'tion and Negligence of Officers, as well in permitting 'Wool, *&c.* to be transported, as also in permitting the 'same to pass, either *without Licence*, or in *greater Quan-'tities* than hath been licensed, or in suffering the same to 'pass beyond the Seas, under Colour of Transportation 'from Port to Port. And therefore his Majesty willeth and 'commandeth, that no Corn, Wool, Woolfels, Fullers 'Earth, Leather, or raw Hides, be permitted to pass from 'Port to Port, but upon good Bonds given with sufficient 'Securities for relanding the same.'

The Construction to be put upon this Proclamation is, That the King meant not to prohibit absolutely the Exportation of

these

5. *A Proclamation prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Cloths into* Germany, *or the Provinces of the* Netherlands. † Dec. 10. 1634.

6. *A*

theſe Commodities, but to raiſe Money from Licences for exporting them. And whereas Corn, &c. *appears to have born a good Price, notwithſtanding there had been good and plentiful Seaſons; that is to be imputed to the good Condition of the* Engliſh *Trade in theſe two laſt Years (as noted by Lord* Clarendon, Chap. 35. §. 1. *Note.) by means of Peace and Intercourſe the Nation enjoyed with* Spain *and other foreign States.*

† 'Except to the Mart and Staple Towns of the Fellow- *Rymer,*
'ſhip of *Merchant Adventurers*, who ſhall admit into the p. 583.
'Freedom of their ſaid Trade, all ſuch our Subjects dwell-
'ing in our City of *London*, and exerciſed in the Profeſſion;
'and not Shopkeepers (except they give over their Shops)
'as ſhall deſire the ſame, for the Fines of fifty Pounds a
'Piece, if they ſhall take their Freedom before the Feaſt
'of St. *John the Baptiſt*; and all ſuch Subjects of the out
'Ports, as being exerciſed in the Trade of Merchandiſe
'ſhall deſire the ſame, paying them five and twenty Pounds
'a Piece, if they ſhall take their ſaid Freedoms before
'*Michaelmas*; and the Sons and Servants of ſuch, at their
'Admiſſion ſhall pay 20 Nobles each. And ſuch as ſhall
'not come into the ſaid Freedom before the Days herein
'prefixed, ſhall pay double of the Fines before limited re-
'ſpectively, in caſe they ſhall afterwards deſire to be ad-
'mitted into the ſaid Fellowſhip.

'And our further Will and Pleaſure is, and we do here-
'by inhibit all our Subjects, not being free of the ſaid Fel-
'lowſhip of Merchant Adventurers, from preſuming to
'trade in the ſaid Commodities of Cloth, *&c.* into any of
'the Ports or Places of *Germany*, or the *Low Countries*,
'upon Pain of ſuch Puniſhment, as our Court of *Star-*
'*Chamber* (whom we eſpecially charge with the Execution
'of our Royal Pleaſure herein) ſhall think fit to inflict for
'ſuch Contempts.'

The *Interlopers*, in their Reaſons againſt the *Merchant Adventurers*, 1662, urge, 'That the Company obtained this 'Proclamation (ſo contrary to the Reſolutions of Parliament 'ten[m] Years before) more by Strength of Purſe, than Argu- 'ment.' They ſay further, 'That in Conſequence of thoſe [m] Ch. 34. 'Votes of Parliament, 23 Jac. by which Trade was left free, §. 7. *Notr.* 'the *Engliſh* Traders increaſed to above 600, and the *Dutch* 'fell off from making of Cloth; ſo that *Anno* 1632, they

The Interlopers, 1662.

'did

April 16. 1638. *Rymer*, vol. 20. p. 221.

6. *A Proclamation that all Woolen Cloths and Stuffs made or mixed with Wool, and brought to* London *to be ſold or tranſported, be firſt brought to* Blackwell-Hall, *there to be ſearched.*

May 5. 1639.

7. *A Proclamation for better ordering the Tranſportation of Cloths, and other Woolen Manufactures into* Germany *and the* Low Countries; *and to reſtrain the Tranſportation of Wool, Woolfells, Fullers Earth and Tobacco-pipe Clay.* *

CHAP.

'did not make 4000 Cloths *per Annum*; but by reaſon of 'this Proclamation, before the Year 1640, they made '20000 *per Annum*, and the aforeſaid 600 Traders declined 'to nine ſcore.' To this the *Merchant Adventurers* reply, 'That the *Interlopers* are much miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that 'in 1632, the *Dutch* made ſo few as 4000 Cloths *per Annum*; and that in 1639, or 1640, they were run up no higher than 20,000 Cloths *per Annum*; for that they might 'with more Truth have ſaid to 40,000 Cloths *per Annum*; 'and confeſſed, that from that fatal Project of Sir *William Cockayne* (13 *Jac.*[n]) they never went backward in this 'Manufacture, and in the ſerious Proſecution thereof.'

The Merchant Adventurers, 1662.

[n] Ch. 30, 31. Ch. 34. §. 8. *Note*. Page 342.

* §. 5.

* 'Whereas his Majeſty by Proclamation, *Dec.* 10, 1634, 'did inhibit, *&c.* ° His Majeſty hath thought fit to declare 'his Royal Pleaſure, that his former Proclamation touching the Premiſes be obſerved. And further, his Majeſty 'taking notice that divers of his Subjects neglecting the 'Grace (beyond Example of former Times ſo freely offered 'them) do notwithſtanding trade underhand into other 'Parts of *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, than the Mart 'Towns of the *Merchant Adventurers*, in Contempt and 'Neglect of his Majeſty's Royal Command, and incurring 'the Penalties thereof, is notwithſtanding pleaſed to give 'yet further Time for all ſuch as are capable to enter and 'be received into the Freedom of the ſaid Fellowſhip, between this and the Feaſt of St. *Michael* next, upon ſuch 'Fines and Conditions as before directed. But in caſe 'Perſons ſhall ſtill neglect to take hold of this his Grace, 'and ſhall yet continue to trade diſorderly, his Majeſty 'ſhall not only have Cauſe for the future, utterly to exclude them his Grace, but will require a ſtrict account of 'ſuch Perſons.

'And whereas his Majeſty is informed of much Decay 'in the Trade of Cloth, and other Woolen Manufactures, 'by ſecret conveying (contrary to ſundry good Laws and 'Proclamations) of Wools, Woolen Yarn, and Fullers 'Earth,

CHAP. XXXVII.

King CHARLES 1640—1.

1. THE Neceſſity of the King's Affairs, after a long Intermiſſion, had obliged him to call a Parliament, which met *November* the 3d, 1640. A few Days after, a great Number of Petitions were preſented for the Redreſs of Grievances. Mr. *Pym* enumerating the ſame, inſtanced under the Head of Trade, 'divers 'Clothiers having been forced away, who had ſet up 'their Manufactures abroad to the great Hurt of the 'Kingdom.' *Rapin*, vol. 2. P. 353.

2. Sir *John Culpepper* inſiſting chiefly on the particular Grievance of Monopolies, it was voted, 'that all 'ſuch Members as directly or indirectly had any Share 'in, or Benefit from, any Project or Monopoly, ſhould 'be diſabled to ſit in the Houſe.' Four were expelled on that Score, and *many more withdrew themſelves*, and new Elections were made in their room. *Whitelock.*

3. The

'Earth, into the Parts beyond the Seas. His Majeſty doth 'ſtrictly charge and command, that no Perſon whatſoever 'preſume to tranſport or convey out of this Kingdom any 'Wools, &c. nor any Sort of Tobacco-pipe Clay (which 'is now found to be of the ſame Uſe as Fullers Earth) any 'Licence or Toleration therein formerly granted notwith-'ſtanding. Given at our Court at *York*, the fifth Day of '*May*, *per ipſum Regem*.'

It is left to the Reader to make his own Reflections upon this Proclamation. *Rapin* tells us, that about this Time, 'the King did publiſh one to revoke ſundry Monopolies, 'Licences and Commiſſions, which he had granted by his 'Letters Patents. But very likely this was to amuſe the 'People, and the Proclamation was not executed, ſince the 'next Year he publiſhed another to revoke the ſame Mo-'nopolies which ſhould have been aboliſhed by this.' *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 308.

As to the Decay mentioned (in the Proclamation) of the Trade of Cloth, &c. *at this Time, the* Merchant Adventurers *in their Anſwer to* the Interlopers 1662, admit, 'That 'a Perſecution for Conſcience and Religion in 1634—5 '(which had drove many Families of Manufacturers out of 'the Kingdom) added to the Troubles of the North in this 'Year, did caſt a damp upon the Woolen Trade.' *The Merchant Adventurers*, 1662.

3. The main Grievances, private and publick being redreſſed, the Parliament thought fit to grant the King
° 16 Car. c. 8. *Tonnage* and *Poundage* °. *The Statute is not printed*, but thereupon iſſued,

Aug. 24. 1641. 4. *A Proclamation for the true Payment of Tonnage and Poundage.* †

CHAP.

Rymer, vol. 20. P. 504. † 'Whereas in and by the laſt Act of this preſent Parliament concerning Tonnage and Poundage, entitled, A Subſidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money payable upon Merchandize exported and imported; it is provided, That no Penalty or Forfeiture contained in the ſaid Act, or in any Act made in the firſt Year of the Reign of his Majeſties late Royal Father, entitled, A Subſidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage, Wools, *&c.* do or ſhall enſue to any Perſon or Perſons, unleſs they refuſe to compound for any Merchandize or Goods imported or exported, after Notice given of the laſt ſaid Act, Penalty and Forfeiture by Proclamation, where the ſaid Goods are or ought to be entered.

'His moſt Excellent Majeſty, leſt any of his loving Subjects ſhould forbear to pay the ſaid Tonnage, *&c.* hath thought fit to declare his Royal Will and Pleaſure to be, That all his loving Subjects, whom it ſhall or may concern, do take notice of the ſaid laſt Act, and accordingly pay, *&c.*'

N. B. *As well on Account of the Reference here made to the Statute*, 1 Jac. *for Tonnage, Poundage, Wools, &c. at*
P Ch. 39. §. 1. *alſo from the Ordinance of Parliament* (1642. P) *which runs exactly in the like Terms. I conceive this Statute* (16 Car. c. 8.) *to have been the ſame in Subſtance with the aforemen-*
q Ch. 27. §. 1. *Note.* *tionnd* q; *conſequently, that* Wool *was* now *allowable to be exported by any one, paying the appointed Duty. And in the Month of* Auguſt, *this Year, (I have ſeen it under his own Hand-writing) Sir* John Brownlowe *of* Belton *in* Lincolnſhire, *ſold three Years* Wool *of* Belton *and* Rippingale, *in the ſame County, to a* Bays-maker *of* Colcheſter, *at* 24 s. per *Tod.*

Wool ſold at 24 s. per *Tod.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

England's *Safety in Trade's Encreaſe, moſt humbly preſented to the* High Court of Parliament.

By Henry Robinſon, *Gent.* 1641. *.

1. THE *Spaniſh* Trade at preſent we have to ourſelves †. And yet among other Means it is neceſſary, in order to perfect and preſerve the Trade of *England*, to ſettle ſtricter Rules for overſeeing and ſealing *Cloth* and all Sorts of Woolen Manufacture. Page 2. Page 6.

2 The *Hollander* hath no Sheep [a] to ſhear, and yet makes Cloth as good cheap as *England*. Page 8. [a] Ch. 51. §. 3.

3. There will be found upon due Enquiry, a Neceſſity of freeing broad Cloth and ſome other Woolen Manufactures, from all or the greateſt Part of Cuſtoms, unleſs we can keep other Nations from making the ſame Sorts, or be contented the Vent of ours ſhould continually decreaſe. Ch. 140. §. 2.

* In the laſt long Interval of Parliament, I have not met with any Account of ſo much as a ſingle Tract upon this Subject. People who wanted to have them, had another way of obtaining their deſired Ends of Monopoly, &c. by Licenſes and Patents purchaſed with Money. And if there were any, and certainly there were ſeveral, who diſapproved ſuch Meaſures, yet the Power of the Crown, in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, ran too high, for any one to riſk his Liberty and Fortune, for the ſake of expoſing them, when they knew it could only iſſue in their own Ruin.—But now upon the Meeting of this Parliament, they are preſented by Mr. *Robinſon* with a ſhort Syſtem of Trading Politics; in which, as in moſt others of the ſame kind, the Woolen Trade makes one Article, and which I here give as briefly and truly as I can. If he ſhall appear to be not quite conſiſtent on this Head, he is neither the only one, that is not, nor the moſt ſo, of any I ſhall have occaſion to produce.

† Excluſive of the *Dutch*, is what I ſuppoſe is meant here. (See c. 39. §. 8.)

4. Yet for the Decay of our Woolen Staple in ſome Countries, we cannot remedy it by withdrawing our Cuſtoms and other Charges, unleſs we prevail with thoſe States, that they not only not *impoſe new Duties*, but pull off ſuch as are of later Times impoſed, purpoſely to keep us from bringing our Cloth, *&c.* thither, and encreaſing the Manufacture thereof among themſelves; which ſucceeds ſo well with them, as if we be but a little longer contented with it, for what concerns Redreſs, we may for ever after hold our Peace.

5. As to the State of *Venice* and their high Duties upon Currants, which coſt the Nation 70,000 *l. per Ann.* we have not 5000 *l.* worth of Trade with them in a Year, beſides theſe Currants ſo damageable to ourſelves; and for our Friendſhip, however they regard it, it is of good Conſequence to them, in that the greateſt part of their Wools from *Spain*, and the reſt from *Conſtantinople*, is moſt commonly brought in *Engliſh* Shipping; which if they come ſhort of, our own Cloth may find ſo much more Vent in *Barbary* and *Turky*.

6. However of late Ages, and even at preſent, we are of conſiderable Strength and Credit, for clothing ſo many of them with our Woolen Commodities; yet if we conſider ſeriouſly thereof, and ſee we cannot at preſent vent in *Germany* and *the Low Countries*, one third part of what we uſed in former Times, being beat out of it by their Subtilty and Induſtry, in making the ſame themſelves; we may perhaps deſervedly have Cauſe to fear that our Woolen Staple, and Manufacture eſpecially, will by degrees wheel away from us in that Viciſſitude, whereto we find all other ſublunary States and Things are obnoxious. And though as it were to recompence thoſe Loſſes, and encourage our farther Endeavours, Divine Providence hath diſcovered to us, how to utter a conſiderable Quantity of Cloth (though not anſwerable to the Decay of *Germany* and *the Low Countries*) for *Turkey* and *Muſcovia*; yet for the latter, we are ſcarce likely to enjoy it long, the *Hollanders* ſerving the ſame Market with our own Cloth carried thither from *Hamborough*, upon better Terms than we can; which might perhaps be prevented, by putting a greater Charge and Cuſtom on ſuch Sorts of Cloth ſent for thoſe Parts, which are not ſpent there, but ſent for *Muſcovia* or *Barbary*,

bary, were it not that hereafter they will be like to make the Cloth themſelves, and ſo debarr us totally. But for *Turkey*, whereas for ſome later Years, we have ſent above 20,000 Cloths dyed and dreſſed, it is certain we cannot continue the Trade in the future with any Profit for above half that Quantity, eſpecially ſince we muſt likely forbear thoſe Country Cotton Wools, which uſed to furniſh us, being now ſerved with better cheap of our own Plantation in the Weſtern Iſlands.

7. The Decay * of Trade is in every Bodies Mouth, from the Sheepſhearer to the Merchant. The reſtoring of our Woolen Staple muſt be, by ſeeking to export the greateſt Quantity that we can of Woolen Goods dyed and dreſſed in their full Manufacture; as alſo by ſettling ſuch a Courſe, as the Officers, who are only to ſeal the Cloth, if it hold in Length, Breadth, good Spinning, &c. may not paſs it over ſo careleſsly, more regarding their Fees than their Duty. Page 171

8. For the firſt, I know the Enterprize was made many Years ſince [[r] 1616] in ſeeking to ſend nothing but dyed and dreſſed Cloths into *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, and how prejudicial it proved to us, in teach- [r] Ch. 31.

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* This has ever been a Complaint, and in all probability ever will; ſo that to judge at any time of the real State of the Nation, in reſpect of Trade, it is neceſſary to look out for ſome more certain Teſt than popular Fame and Belief. The Cuſtom-Houſe Accounts, as often as they are to be met withal, tho' not exactly infallible, are our ſureſt Guides in this Caſe. I have not met with any about this Time. But from this Writer's own Account, tho' perhaps the Trade of *England* was not then altogether ſo good as it had been a little before, nor then perhaps ſo good as by Lord *Clarendon* it has been repreſented [s] to have been; yet I think it appears, that the Woolen Trade was then in no very bad Condition, ſo far as relates to the whole Conſumption and Vent of Woolen Goods; which is what the Grower and Manufacturer do chiefly depend upon. But if (as there is Reaſon to ſuſpect) our Author here, as a meer Merchant, was ſubſtituting his own particular Gain, in the Place of the general Intereſt of the Kingdom; and with that View adviſed, as we ſhall ſee (§. 12, 13.) the ſending out leſs Cloth, to the end, (I ſuppoſe) it might be bought cheaper at Home, and ſold with more Profit abroad; that is another Conſideration. [s] Ch. 35. §. 2. *Note*.

ing them to make Cloth of their own, rather than to be ſo ſtinted by us, and ſince, chiefly in *Holland*, by impoſing daily new Taxes, and Cuſtoms upon all our Cloth ſpent there, both white and coloured. But if at that Time in a quiet way we had only taken the Cuſtom and Charge off from coloured, and by degrees put it upon the white[u], ſtill raiſing it inſenſibly, it might in all probability have done the Feat; the cheap coloured beating the dear white Cloth out of Service; and for the preſent, we can only make this uſe of it, that unleſs we give out Cloth both white and coloured at cheaper Rates, than they make theirs of the ſame Goodneſs, we muſt look quite to loſe the Trade.

[u] Ch. 91. §. 10, 11. Page 18.

9. But for the Searchers of the Cloth, that it may be compleat, methinks it might be well compaſſed; and it is of great Conſequence.

10. And for Fullers Earth, Wools, or any other Materials which conduce to Clothing, we muſt not only forbear to carry them ourſelves, but hinder others what we can † from doing ſo.

11. The Encouragement of all Manufacture at preſent practiſed in *England*, and bringing in of new, is of wonderful Conſequence, in regard it ſets Multitudes of poor People at Work. ‖

12. We muſt really leſſen our Importation and Conſumption of foreign Goods at home, nor reſt there neither,

† Though I do agree with the Author that it is right to hinder others what we can in this Caſe, it doth not therefore certainly follow, that prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool, is the beſt Courſe to be taken for that End.

‖ This is very true, but in regard this ſame Policy was one at leaſt of the firſt Cauſes of the *Low Countries* breaking with *England*, in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign[v], and conſequently of the *Engliſh* Draperies being prohibited in thoſe Countries, I don't ſee the Policy of prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool, and at the ſame time giving into, and encouraging, as much as may be, every other Manufacture, tho' of foreign Materials, (which laſt nevertheleſs ought to be, I think, and certainly has been, done) can conſiſt with the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Wool-grower in particular, or even of the Nation in general. The Reaſons of this my Opinion I ſhall give more at large hereafter.

[v] Ch. 19. §. 4. *Note.*

ther, but reſolve to do the like for Exportation, ſending out leſs Cloth hereafter; and this is not all neither, but we muſt lade it as little as may be with Cuſtoms, if poſſible to give ſo good cheap abroad, as others might not make to live by it.

13. Since therefore the Exportation of Cloth, our moſt Staple Commodity, and Importation of foreign Wares muſt be diminiſhed ‖; to make good what I have intended towards the enlarging of our Traffick, the Remainder of our Stock, People and Labourers, which of late have been employed in making more Cloth, and bringing in more Superfluities than we could well digeſt, muſt neceſſarily be ſet on work ſome other Way; and this may not only have effect by practiſing new Fabricks, Fiſhing, &c., but by promoting the *Eaſt India* Trade.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Occurrences and Ordinances 1641—53.

1. ENacted by Parliament, a Subſidy of Tunnage and Poundage, Wools, &c., under ſuch Proviſoes *, Clauſes and Limitations, as are contained in an Act of Parliament 1 *Jacobi*, entitled, An Act for the granting of a Subſidie to the King of Tunnage and Poundage. *Abridgment of Ordinances*, N°11. 1641.

2. *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, for upholding the Government † of the Fellowſhip* 1643. *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. 20. P. 547.

‖ But here might it not have been juſtly aſked, What was to be done with the *Wool*, which he would neither allow to be exported in the Fleece, nor yet in the Manufacture?

* A Proviſo (1 *Jac.* c. 33.ʷ) was, that a Merchant Denizen ſhipping Wools, ſhall pay the ſame Duty as Strangers, *viz.* 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the Sack. From this Time therefore, upon theſe Terms, the Exportation of Wool continued to be quite legal, 'till inhibited by an Ordinance of Parliament, *Jan.* 19. 1647. (*See* §. 3.) ʷ Ch. 27. §. 1. *Note.*

† 'For the better, &c. —— the Lords and Commons 'do ordain, That the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall continue and be 'a Corporation, and ſhall have Power to levy Monies on 'the

Fellowſhip of Merchant Adventurers in England, *to the better Maintenance of the Trade of Clothing and Woolen Manufacture of the Kingdom.*

Abridgment of Ordinances, N° 370. *Jan.* 19. 1647.

3. *An Ordinance of Parliament, to prohibit the Exportation of Wool, Woolen Yarn, Woolfels, Fullers Earth, Tobacco-pipe Clay,* &c. *beyond Sea, or into* Scotland. ‡

4. *A. D.*

' the Members of their Corporation, and their Goods, for ' the neceſſary Charge and Maintenance of their Govern- ' ment; and that no Perſons ſhall trade into thoſe Parts li- ' mited by their Incorporation, but ſuch as are *free* of that ' Corporation, upon Forfeiture of their Goods.

' Provided that the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall not exclude any ' Perſon from his Freedom and Admiſſion into the ſaid Fel- ' lowſhip, who ſhall deſire it by way of Redemption, if ' ſuch Perſon by their Cuſtom be capable thereof, and hath ' been bred a Merchant, and ſhall pay one hundred Pounds ' for the ſame, if he be free, and an Inhabitant of the Ci- ' ty of *London*, and trade from that Port; or fifty Pounds, ' if he be not free of the Fellowſhip, and no Inhabitant of ' the City, and trade not from thence.

' And that the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall have Power to im- ' priſon Members of their Company in Matters of Govern- ' ment, and to give ſuch an Oath, or Oaths to them, as ' ſhall be approved by both Houſes of Parliament, *&c.*

Interlopers Reaſons, 1662.

N. B. ' In the long Parliament there was a general Com- ' plaint againſt them, [*the Merchant Adventurers*] as a ' national Grievance; yet by lending the ſaid Parliament ' 30,000 *l.* to rebel againſt their King, they made a ſhift to ' have an Ordinance to continue their Charter.'

But ſee Ch. 40. §. 1. *by which their Loan to the Parliament for this exorbitant Grant ſeems to have been* 60,000 *l.*

‡ ' Upon Pain of Forfeiture of the ſaid Wools, *&c.* and ' for every Pound Weight of the ſaid Earth or Clay 3 *s.* to ' be forfeited by the Owners thereof. —— And the Owners ' of Ships and Veſſels, knowing ſuch Offence, to forfeit all ' their Intereſt in their Ships, *&c.* —— A Merchant offend- ' ing ſhall be diſabled from requiring any Debt. The ' Owner of Land where ſuch Clay is digged, for every Of- ' fence againſt this Act ſhall forfeit 500 *l.* A Juſtice of ' Peace for Neglect of his Duty on Information, 100 *l.* ' Entry ſhall be made from time to time of all ſuch Clay ' and Earth, with ſome ſufficient Perſon, a Clothier or Ful- ' ler of the County of *Kent*, to be appointed by the Barons ' of the *Exchequer*, to keep a Book of the Entries of the

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4. *A. D.* 1648. As to the State of the Nation, in Reference to our foreign Neighbours, at the Death of King *Charles*, we ſhall find the *Dutch* making their Advantage of the *Engliſh* Diſſentions. It was now above 13 Years ſince they entertained the *Engliſh* fled from *Laud* and *Wren*'s Injunctions, whereby they acquired the Art of making the Woolen Manufacture of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*, which before, the *Dutch* knew not ‖; and the Wars of *England* breaking out, the *Engliſh* did not ſo fully ſupply the Countries within the *Sound* as before; and then the *Dutch* were rather Interlopers than Competitors, in the Trade of Woolen Manufactures into thoſe Countries. *Coke*, p. 419. Page 421.

5. This Want of Supply put the *Sileſians* and *Polanders* upon a Neceſſity of being furniſhed other ways; and making a Virtue of Neceſſity, they got Artificers to inſtruct the Natives of *Sileſia* and the Weſternt Parts of *Poland*, by compounding the Wools of *Poland* and *Sileſia*, to make a coarſe Sort of Cloth, called *Sleſys* *, which

 clad

'true Quantities of Earth and Clay meaſured and received 'from the Pits, *&c.* and certify ſuch Book yearly upon 'Oath, and to have 6 *d.* for every Load of 22 Buſhels.'

‖ Though it is true enough, that the *States of Holland* received and encouraged theſe *Engliſh* Refugees; it is in no wiſe to be imagined, that the *Dutch* at this Time were unacquainted with any Part of the Woolen Manufacture that was known to the *Engliſh*. For they were themſelves a Part of the ſeventeen Provinces, where this Manufacture, in all its Branches, had been moſt conſpicuous for ſome Centuries; and the greateſt Flight of foreign Woolen Manufacturers to *England*, in the Time of *Edward* III. was directly from *Zealand*[x], one of the ſeven United Provinces; and we further learn from Mr. *Huet*'s Memoirs of the *Dutch* Trade[y], (*See* Ch. 92.) that in all the ſeveral Migrations of Manufacturers, *&c.* on the ſcore of Perſecution, from *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *France*, the greater Part conſtantly took Sanctuary with the *States General*.

[x] Ch. 5. §. 5. *Note.*

* I think Mr. *Coke* here was very ill informed; and that he writes below himſelf, in repreſenting this Cloth, called *Sleſys*, as if the Name of it denoted it to be of a very inferior Sort to any Cloth made in *England*; whereas by that Word, I ſhould imagine, is to be underſtood, only the Cloth of a particular Country, as diſtinguiſhed from that of other

clad the poorer and ordinary Sort of Inhabitants, whereby the *Engliſh* to this Day have loſt the Trade of coarſe Cloths to theſe Places, which before they † ſolely enjoyed. This was one Reaſon that the *Dutch* became Competitors with the *Engliſh* in the other Trade for Woolen Manufactures within the *Sound*.

6. For tho' the *Engliſh* Manufactures were much better, and could be ſold much cheaper than the *Dutch*; yet the *Dutch* Navigation for foreign Vent was manifold cheaper, and more convenient than the *Engliſh*.

7. To this Cheapneſs of Shipping and Navigation is added the Advantage the *Dutch* have, above the *Engliſh*, in compounding Freights; which Advantage was increaſed yet more to the *Dutch* by the *Engliſh* Freights becoming leſs, after the *Sileſians* and *Polanders* had got the Art of making *Sleſyi*.

[x] 1648. 8. This Year [x], at the Treaty of *Munſter*, a Peace was made between the King of *Spain*, and the *States of the*

other Countries, and which, tho' not coming up to *Spaniſh* Cloth, *i. e.* Cloth made of fine *Spaniſh* Wool, nor, it may be, to the very beſt Cloth made of the fineſt *Engliſh* Wool, tho' that is far ſhort of the fineſt *Spaniſh*, might yet be of very different Sorts, as to Beauty and Goodneſs; and a great deal of it, far from that mean contemptible Clothing, which [y] Ch. 40. *P. S.* Mr. *Coke* [y] ſeems to think it; but which, if it was ſo, muſt have been more owing to a Defect in the Workmanſhip than of the Material, becauſe the *Eaſtland* Merchants had been uſed to find their Account in importing ſome of thoſe [z] Ch. 36. §. 2. *Note.* Wools [z] to *England*; and latterly, as we ſhall ſee, the ſame have been ſold at a better Price in *Holland*, than has been given for what we call the very beſt [long] Wool in *England*, in the ſame Year; and at about double the Price at that Time, of the common clothing Wool in *England*. But thus it is, to imagine that the *Engliſh* at any Time have had the † *ſole clothing* of whole Kingdoms, without conſidering what immenſe Sums ſuch a Trade muſt amount to, and without enquiring into the annual Amount of the *Engliſh* Woolen Exportations at any time. The want of ſuch Conſideration and Enquiry has led ſeveral Writers upon this Subject into very groſs Errors; and is, in ſome ſort, the Foundation of that greateſt of all Errors upon this Subject, *viz.* *That* England *once had, and therefore may regain a Monopoly in the Woolen Trade.*

the united Netherlands, whereby they were declared *Free States*, and ſo had as free a Trade with *Spain*, as the *Engliſh*; ſo that though the *Engliſh* had had the ſole Trade to *Spain*, excluſive to the *Dutch*, for near forty five Years *; now the *Dutch* were Competitors in it with the *Engliſh*, as well as in that into the *Sound*, with Woolen Manufactures.

9. To the Honourable the *Council of State*. The humble Petition † of the *Governor*, *Deputy Aſſiſtants*, and *Fellowſhip* of the *Merchant Adventurers* of *England*. 1651. *Thurloe's* State Papers, vol 1. p. 199.

10. *Conſi-*

* The Truce of 12 Years excepted, *viz.* from 1609 to 1621. (*See* Chap. 32. §. 15. *Note.*)

† 'Humbly ſheweth,

'That when Queen *Elizabeth* did openly declare herſelf againſt King *Philip* II. of *Spain*, Lord of the ſeventeen Provinces of the *Netherlands*, his Lieutenants, Governors of thoſe Provinces, did take occaſion to baniſh all *Engliſh* Cloth and Woolen Manufactures, and to prohibit the ſame to be imported. But, in time, as well to accommodate their own Merchants, as to gratify ſome Commanders and Churchmen, there was found a Means to diſpenſe with the Importation of a greater or leſſer Number of Cloths, under the Name of Lycent; which was brought by Merchants, ſometimes *Engliſh*, and ſometimes Strangers, as could beſt be agreed. And ſo in time this way of Lycent growing into Cuſtom, and all things reconciled with King *James*, the ſame was made a Revenue of the Crown, and brought into the Finances of the remaining Provinces to the King of *Spain*, which hath ſo continued 'till of late Years; and ſometimes hath not wanted Compliance from ſome *Engliſh*, partly changed in Religion, and there reſiding, and others purſuing their private Advantages, without any Care of the publick, in ſuch manner, that no Complaint of the Injury, and Breach of the ancient Treaties of *Burgundy*, (which Charge the *Engliſh* Cloth with two Stivers * only) could prevail. But by degrees this Lycent was advanced to 24 Gilders upon a Cloth, which is 48 Shillings; and therefore by way of Retaliation, when in the Beginning of this Parliament it was thought fit to compoſe a new Book of Rates, the *Flemiſh* Linens imported into *England* from thoſe Provinces, were thought fit to be raiſed to ſuch a Height, as might make them ſenſible on their Parts of

* *See* Chap. 17. (§. 5, 6.) *the Caſe of the Merchants of the Still-yard.*

'the

Page 200. 10. * *Considerations of the Advantages to the Commonwealth of* England, *by getting all the* Spaniſh *Cloth Wools*

'the Burden; which had Effect accordingly; inſomuch 'that upon the Peace with the *States General*, they abſo-'lutely took off this Lycent; yet not without great Impor-'tunity and Intereſt of their own Subjects, who gave Hope 'that in lieu thereof, the extraordinary Cuſtoms laid on 'their Linens here would be alſo reduced; which their 'Expectation hath by the Petitioners been repreſented to 'the Council of State, yet without Effect; of which Delay 'the Court of *Bruxels* taking notice, and being always in-'tent to advance their Prince's Revenue, without any Re-'gard to the Interpoſition of thoſe of *Antwerp*, who ſtill 'oppoſed the ſame, have again prohibited all *Engliſh* Cloths 'and other Woolen Manufactures to be imported; which 'is to make way again to this Courſe of Lycent; wherein 'alſo the Petitioners have Cauſe to doubt they are again, 'as formerly, encouraged by ſome *Engliſh* Merchants, tra-'ding in thoſe Parts, for ſuch private Views and Advanta-'ges, as have been formerly made thereof.

'Wherefore the Petitioners conceiving this to be of that 'high Nature, in relation to the Charges of the great Sta-'ple Commodity of this City of *London*, or baniſhing the 'ſame out of theſe Lands, as ought not by them to be con-'cealed from the State, do repreſent the ſame to your Ho-'nours; humbly praying that your Honours would conſi-'der the evil Conſequences thereof, and accordingly ap-'ply ſuch timely Remedy, as in your great Wiſedom ſhall 'be found requiſite.

And your Petitioners, &c.

Indorſed
1651.

* 'Firſt, our getting all the *Spaniſh* Cloth Wools into 'our Hands will totally diſſolve the Clothing of *Holland*, 'which by means of theſe Wools hath of late Years 'mightily increaſed, to the Deſtruction of the Vent of all 'fine Cloths of *Engliſh* making both in *Holland*, *France*, 'and the *Eaſt-Lands*; and hath drawn from us conſiderable 'Numbers of Weavers, Dyers, and Cloth-workers, now 'ſettled in *Leyden*, and other Towns of *Holland*; by whoſe 'Help they have conſiderably improved their Skill in Cloth, 'and have made in that one Province (*communibus annis*) '24,000 to 26,000 Cloths; of which ſcarcely one Cloth 'was made of other than *Spaniſh Wool*; and ſurely not 'one but by a Mixture of the moſt Part of it; for though

'they

Wools into Engliſh *Hands, and ſome humble Offers at the Means to effect the ſame.*

11. A

'they have ſome Supplies of Wool from *Poland*, *Pomer-*
'*land*, and *Luyckland*, yet they have found by coſtly Ex-
'perience, that in making Cloth of the coarſe Wools they
'loſe their Capital; and that though our *Engliſh* Cloth be
'charged in their Shops with a very heavy Exciſe, (of
'which their own Manufacture is free) yet we can under-
'ſell them, and gain too; which comes to paſs thus: One
'Pound of *Engliſh* Wool of 12 *d.* Price, is improved in a
'mixed Cloth to 4*s.* ſo as ¼ of its Value is merely made
'out of the Labour, and that Labour of Carding, Spinning,
'Dying, Weaving, Fulling and Working, does not coſt us
'above ⅓ of what the *Hollander* pays, by reaſon of their
'high Rates of Houſes and Victuals, to which all Labour-
'ers Wages are proportioned. But now, in fine *Spaniſh*
'Wool that coſts three times as much as our *ordinary* Eng-
'liſh *Wool*, that Advantage in the Labour doth not hold for
'us; nor can the moſt judicious Eye gueſs ſo near the true
'Worth of fine Cloth, but that the Maker may at moſt
'times advance 10 *per Cent.* on the Fancy of the Buyer,
'which on coarſe Cloths cannot be done; and therefore
'they paying no Impoſt or Exciſe on the Manufacture, from
'the Sheep's Back to their own; and ours paying Cuſtoms
'here, and Freight and Inſurance thither, and a great
'Exciſe there, we cannot recover the Vent of our fine Cloth
'in *Holland*, (if we ſhould be reconciled) nor in other
'Parts, nor get our Workmen home, but by keeping the
'*Hollander* from *Spaniſh Wools*.

Ordinary Engliſh *Wool* 12 d. *a Pound.*

'*Secondly*, By that we ſhall alſo right ourſelves upon the
'*French*, for their prohibiting our Cloth, by keeping them
'both from conſiderable Quantities of *Spaniſh* Wool, which
'they Yearly get from *Biſcay*, and wrought into Cloth
'at *Roan*, and other Parts; and by totally cutting off the
'Supply of Cloth which they had from *Holland*, ſo as they
'muſt neceſſarily apply themſelves to us.

'*Thirdly*, We ſhall hereby much increaſe the Vent of our
'*Engliſh* Manufactures in *Biſcay*. For whereas the *Hol-*
'*landers* have of late Years bought and exported from
'thence ⅞ Parts at leaſt of all the Wools, and ſold there
'proportionably of their Country Stuffs and Says, they will
'be now diſcouraged from coming to a Market, where they
'cannot have any Commodity to make their Return in,
'or relade their Ships withal, nor any Courſe of Exchange
'to make, nor Money, but Copper, not worth their ex-
'porting.

Fourthly,

'*Fourthly*, As this would much improve the Stock of a 'great many Individuals; ſo will it make a very fair In-'creaſe of the publick Revenues of the Commonwealth, 'by the Exciſe of the Oyls, Soap, and dying Stuffs to be 'uſed in making 30,000 Cloths Yearly, more than for-'merly; and in the Cuſtoms of the moſt Part of them, 'when exported, with the Exciſe and Cuſtoms of the Com-'modities to be imported on the Returns of them.

'For the Expedient of getting theſe Wools into our 'Hands, I do humbly conceive and offer, that it be done 'by the Authority of the King of *Spain*, who may be dealt 'with by our State, in the Treaty of Alliance (if any be) 'between our two Nations, that he undertake for us the 'Preemption of all the Wools of *Segovia* or *Caſtile*, which 'he will permit to be exported, and that for a certain 'Term of Years, and at ſuch a Price as the Owners of the 'Wool, and the *Engliſh* Contracter may both have reaſon-'able Content; and that the ſaid King be obliged, that no 'Wools ſhall be exported out of any his Ports, but by the '*Engliſh* Contracter; and that for the forming of a Stock 'for the Purpoſe, and the Management of the Work, the 'State will pleaſe to conſider of declaring, that if a Com-'pany of Merchants of *London*, or any other Ports of *Eng-'land*, will engage to make up ſuch a Capital, they ſhall 'be impowered by a Charter, with a reaſonable Authority 'for the Government of the Trade in one common Stock, 'as is the *Eaſt India Company*; and that they may erect ſe-'veral Courts in the reſpective Ports, for the Direction of 'the *Engliſh* Manufactures, to be exported from them, that 'ſo all Parts of the Commonwealth may ſhare in it if they 'pleaſe. But more eſpecially, that the Weſtern Ports who 'do uſually carry into *Biſcay* from *Newfoundland*, 70,000 'Quintals of Fiſh, beſides Train Oyl, may not be deprived 'of Wool to make their Returns in; but that a Proportion 'of the fiſhing Ships may (if the Owners deſire it) upon 'a reaſonable Valuation, be received in, as a Part of that 'Stock, and the ſame employed to bring their Fiſh to *Biſ-'cay* for the Accompt of the Company; by which Means 'the Price of the Fiſh alſo will be better maintained, as 'being under one Direction.

'And that it may not reliſh of a Monopoly, that the 'State would pleaſe to declare, that every *Engliſh* Subject 'that will underwrite for any Sum towards this Stock, ſhall 'be admitted, if he do it within a reaſonable Time; and 'in Caſe the Sum underwritten ſhall exceed the neceſſary 'Stock, then every Sum ſubſcribed to be reduced to the 'juſt Proportion of it, that ſo no Man be excluded; but 'that before the Publication hereof, the State would pleaſe

'to

'to inſtruct ſuch Men as they ſhall ſee fit, to make private 'Eſſay, and report how probable it may be to find Men to 'engage for the Stock, upon ſuch Terms as the Wiſdom of 'the State ſhall think fit to propound; that ſo our State may 'have Grounds for their Treaty with the *Spaniard*, and the '*Hollander* get no Umbrage of the Deſign, to ſtir him to a 'Countermine.

'And whereas the Merchant Adventurers are now ſolli-'citing the State to appoint an Agent to treat with the '*Spaniard* about the Removal of their Staple from *Holland* 'into *Flanders*, I do humbly conceive that it may be made 'ſerviceable to the preſent Deſign. For,

'*Firſt*, It may be urged on the *Spaniard*, as an Argument 'for his Compliance, in granting us his Wools, becauſe we 'are about to give his Subjects the Benefit of the Mart of 'our Cloth, which is the moſt compendious Means to re-'ſtore the ancient Trade and Glory of thoſe Provinces.

'And it may lay a juſt Obligation on that Company, (if 'the State ſhall think fit to eſtabliſh them) that they engage 'deeply towards the Stock for the Wools, becauſe they are 'likely to have a liberal Share of the Profit that muſt come 'to our Nation thereby, by the Overthrow of the *Holland's* 'Clothing; for their Vent of Cloth will be thereby double 'as much as formerly.

'And I humbly ſubmit to the Conſideration of the State, 'if it may not do well, in caſe they reſolve to eſtabliſh the 'Trade of the *Merchant Adventurers* under a Government, 'if they inordered, that no Man ſhould have his Freedom, 'unleſs he brought in a proportionable Part of his Eſtate 'to the Stock for Wools.

'And to avoid the Danger of the Companies enhancing 'the Price of Wools, it is a good Expedient, that they 'may come to Hands that muſt buy moſt of them again in 'Cloth.

'But if the State think that not Security enough againſt 'the Company extorting an extravagant Price from the 'Clothiers, the Price may be regulated at a certain Rate 'of Profit, by Conſent of the Undertakers, which they 'may not exceed.'

Though this may be thought to have been a chimerical Project, as undoubtedly ſuch it was, proceeding from a monopoliſh Imagination, in a Matter not likely to be compaſſed; yet I obſerve, that it was better founded than ſome others of a like Kind have been; particularly, that of the Engliſh *propoſing to themſelves a Monopoly in any Sort of Woolen Goods, by engroſſing, if it was poſſible,* their own Wools, *the like whereto, or what is in ſome Degree equivalent, are to be met with in many other Parts of* Europe, *and elſewhere; while the fineſt*

Spaniſh

1652. *Rymer*, vol. 10. p. 623.

11. A Petition of the *Merchant Adventurers*, concerning the removing their Company from *Rotterdam* to *Flanders* †.

12. *Thurſday* the fourth of *November*, 1652, at the Council of State at *Whitehall*,

Ordered,

Page 625. That the Petition from the Company of *Merchant Adventurers*, delivered to the Council this Day, be referred to the Committee for foreign Affairs, who are to take the ſame into Conſideration, and all other Papers formerly delivered into the Council concerning that Buſineſs, and report their Opinions thereupon.

* 13. A Chronological Deduction, concerning the *Engliſh*

Spaniſh *Wools, for Cloth, are not to be matched in any other Part of* Europe *at leaſt.*

And here by the way, I note, that ordinary *Engliſh* Wool *appears, from this Paper, to have been, at this Time,* (1652) 12*d. a Pound; whereas the beſt* [long] Engliſh *Wool, in theſe latter Times, eſpecially in* 1737, *has been ſold for* 6*d.* [b] *See* Ch. 171. *a* [b] *Pound, or leſs.*

† There being, at this Time, a Rupture between the Commonwealth of *England*, and the States General of the United Provinces, the Company of *Merchant Adventurers* thought it a proper Seaſon to endeavour to re-eſtabliſh themſelves in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. To this End, wanting a free Exerciſe of the reformed Religion, Security, on the publick Faith of Government, for Perſon and Eſtate (remembring how the *Engliſh* had been treated [c] heretofore at *Antwerp*) a Repeal of ſome Placarts (by which certain Draperies of this Land ſtood baniſhed from thoſe Countries) with an Extinction of all Payments by way of *Lycent*, for ſuch as were permitted to be brought into thoſe Provinces; they pray that ſome publick Miniſter might be authorized to negotiate earneſtly with the Archduke, and the King of *Spain*'s Council at *Bruſſels*, for removing theſe Obſtacles.

[c] Ch. 22. §. 6.

* Theſe were ſome of thoſe Papers mentioned (§. 12.) to have been delivered into the Council; whence it appears, that according as the Princes of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and the Crown of *England*, happened to agree, or differ in other Reſpects, Commerce in general was more freely allowed or ſtrictly prohibited; and the Woolen Manufactures of *England* particularly, from Time to Time, admitted in

thoſe

Engliſh Cloth, out of the Treaties between the Houſe of *Burgundy* and the Crown of *England*.

14. * Articles offered by the *Merchant Adventurers* to the Council, upon occaſion of the Treaty with the *Dutch*. Page 712. 1653.

CHAP. I

thoſe Dominions upon eaſy Terms, or totally baniſhed, or ſubjected to high Impoſitions. Whereupon I obſerve, that the Subjects of that Country had moſt certainly other Means of being furniſhed both with *Wool* and *Drapery*, than from *England*; becauſe if they had not, ſo often as they had either prohibited Commerce with *England*, or laid high Duties upon *Engliſh* Drapery, they would have puniſhed themſelves more than the *Engliſh* in ſo doing.

To confirm us in this Opinion, I need only inſtance in one Article of this Chronological Deduction, which ſays, 'By the Reſtriction which the Barons of the *Exchequer* of 'the Emperor *Maximilian* made in the Year 1511, it is al-'ledged, that then there were yearly ſold in thoſe Parts, 'FRENCH CLOTHS, for 300,000 Gilders, *Engliſh*, for '200,000, *Scotiſh*, for 100,000; whereupon a Reſolution 'was taken to tax all Out-landiſh Cloths.' *So that at this Time the* SCOTISH *Woolen Trade to theſe Parts was half as much* as the ENGLISH; *and the* FRENCH WOOLEN TRADE *to the ſame Parts*, was equal to BOTH THE ENGLISH *and* SCOTISH *put together; which is to be noted againſt thoſe who repreſent* the French Woolen Manufacture, *as a novel Buſineſs*, firſt introduced into that Kingdom by Mr. *Colbert*, 150 Years later, and upheld merely by the Owling of Wool (as it is called) from *England*.

* The main Purport of theſe Articles was, 1ſt, To ſecure to themſelves their Monopoly, under the ſpecious Colour of *Order* and *good Government in Trade*. 2dly, To exempt, as much as might be, the Woolen Manufacture of *England*, from all Taxes, Tolls, Duties and Impoſitions whatſoever. How far their deſired Terms in theſe reſpects were obtained, does not appear. But here it may be proper to remark in general, that it does not ſignify ſo much to the Proſperity of the *Engliſh Woolen Trade for Exportation*, what Countries do, or do not, produce Wool, or afford Woolen Manufacture, (ſince moſt, if not all Countries have both, in ſome degree) as what Countries will by Treaty be prevailed upon to admit *Engliſh* Drapery upon the eaſieſt Terms, in Point of Duty[d], &c. This will be eminently ſeen hereafter, in the Caſe of *Portugal*, where tho' a Woolen Manufacture had been eſtabliſhed, and the Country did, and does, produce Wool in Plenty, as good, if not better than that

[d] *See* Chap. 40. *P. S. Mr.* Bradſhaw's *Complaint of the* Swede *burthening the* Engliſh *Commodities.*

CHAP. XL.

WHITLOCK'S MEMORIALS, 1643-56.

1643. 1. I WAS in the Chair of a Committee, to treat with the *Merchant Adventurers* (with whose Buſineſs I was well acquainted) about confirming ſome of their Patents, and a Loan of 60,000 *l.* [a]

[a] Ch. 39. §. 2. *Note.*

1645. 2. Order, That the Company of *Merchant Adventurers* do ſend the Covenant to all their Company at home and abroad, and return the Names of ſuch as ſhall refuſe to take it.

3. A Petition againſt the Monopoly of Merchant Adventurers referred to a Committee.

1646. 4. The *Ruſſia* Embaſſador ſolemnly received, and delivered his Meſſage for Unity between the two Nations, and concerning Trade.

5. An Ordinance from the Lords to prohibit the killing of Beef, Veal and Lamb for eight Weeks, *Feb.* 1646.

1647. 6. The Merchant Adventurers lent 10,000 *l.* towards the Months Pay for the Army, *November.*

7. An Ordinance ſent up to the Lords to prohibit the Tranſportation of Wool, and of Fullers Earth, and of *Iriſh* Wool, *Jan.* 8. *

1648. 8. A Petition from the Inhabitants of *Colcheſter*, and a Letter from the Lord *Goring* in their Behalf, was brought to the General, that Liberty might be granted to the Bay and Say Makers in that Town, to have a free Trade with *London* during the Siege. The General anſwered, That tho' it be without Example to a beſieged Town, yet he will give Leave for their Commodities to be brought to a Heath near the Town, to be bargained

that of *England*; yet through an advantageous Treaty in 1703, negotiated by Mr. *Methuen*, (whereby the King of *Portugal* ſtipulated to admit for ever, upon certain Terms, the *Engliſh* Cloths, &c. which then ſtood prohibited there) this Nation has, ever ſince, enjoyed a moſt beneficial Trade to that Kingdom, for Woolen Goods.

* *See* Chap. 39. §. 3.

gained for, or returned back, as there ſhall be occaſion; *June* 26.

9. The Merchant Adventurers Company had the Thanks of the Houſe, for engaging for 10,000 *l.* for the Service of the Navy, *October* 20.

10. A Report from the Council of State, that before the Houſe do adjourn, it will be fit that theſe Acts be paſſed, *viz.*

For prohibiting the Exportation of † Wool, Fullers Earth, &c. *June* 22.

11. The King of *France* had prohibited all Trade with *England*. The *Engliſh* Merchants took this as a Breach of the League; and thereupon addreſſed themſelves by Petition to the Council of State, deſiring them to report this Matter to the Houſe. The Council did report the whole Matter to the Houſe, who upon long Debate thereof, voted, '*That no Wines*, Wool, *or Silk*, '*of the Growth of* France, *and uſually vended in this* '*Nation, ſhall from thenceforth be imported into any Port* '*thereof, or vended here, upon Forfeiture of the Goods and* '*Ship that ſhall import them.*' Upon the Queſtion whether Linen ſhould be likewiſe prohibited? It was reſolved in the Negative, in regard of the general and neceſſary Uſe thereof, *Auguſt* 23.

12. The Act paſt, prohibiting the importing of any Wines, Wool, or Silk, from *France*, into *England* or *Ireland*, *Auguſt* 28.

13. Ordered, that *Serjeant Dandy*, Serjeant at Arms to the Council, do proclaim the Act for prohibiting the Importation of *Wines*, Wool ‖, and *Silk*, from *France*, *Auguſt* 31.

14. The

† Tho' the Council of State was of this Opinion, it does not appear that the Parliament was ſo well agreed about the Expediency of ſuch Prohibition, as to paſs a new Act for it.

‖ According to the common Idea which the People of *England* have of *French* Wool, this may ſeem to have been a very unneceſſary Prohibition. But in an Account of Imports and Exports to and from *England* and *France*, from *Michaelmas* 1685, to *Michaelmas* 1686, as laid before the Parliament, *An.* 1713, are theſe Articles, *viz.*

Imported from *France* to *England*,	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Sheeps Wool, 9 Bags at 10 *l. per* Bag.	90	0	0
Lambs Wool, 2 Bags at 10 *l.*	20	0	0
Spaniſh Wool, 2 Bags at 20 *l.*	40	0	0

Britiſh Merchant, vol. 1. p. 286.

1650. 14. The Act paſſed for Advancement of Trade and Manufactures, and Commiſſioners were appointed to be a ſtanding Council of Trade, *Auguſt* 6.

15. An Act paſſed for regulating the making of *Norwich* Stuffs, *November* 9.

16. Vote that no Fullers Earth or Clay, nor Oar of Lead or Tin, be tranſported beyond Sea, *March* 11.

1651. 17. An Act committed, prohibiting the tranſporting of Lead Oar, Fullers Earth, and Tobacc-pipe Clay, *May* 13.

1652. 18. Letters, of the Forces of the Parliament about *Eniſcorſy* (in *Ireland*) burning the Corn, and every Morning, the Houſes they quartered in, the Night before; killed and took many *Iriſh*; that he was an idle Soldier who had not a Veal, Lamb, Poultry, or all of them for his Supper, ‡ *April* 6.

19. Upon a Report from the Council of State, of the Abuſes in Clothing, and tranſporting of Wool and Fullers Earth, a Day was appointed to debate * it, *April* 13.

20. Votes that all Wools brought into *England* ſhall be Exciſe free.

That an Act be brought in, to prevent the Exportation of *Scotch* Wools, Woolfels or Leather, *April* 20.

21. The Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and Queen of *Sweden*, ſent hither their Ambaſſadors and publick Miniſters,

‡ This ſpoiling of *Ireland* is to be accounted of as one Reaſon why *Engliſh* Wool and Cattle bore an extraordinary Price at this Time, and Rents advanced accordingly.

[c] Ch. 58. §. 10.

* It was the exceſſive high [c] Price of Wool, occaſioned in ſome Meaſure by the ſpoiling of *Ireland*, which produced that Report from the Council, which gave Occaſion to this Debate; the Reſult whereof was, as (*See* §. 20.) But tho' an Act was ordered to be brought in, it does not appear to have paſſed, for preventing the Exportation of *Scotch* Wools; conſequently *Scotland* was at this Time, as well as all along from 1647 to 1660, a Back-door at leaſt for the Exportation of Wool from *England*. And this ſeems to explain the Reaſon and the Intention of the ſeveral Clauſes in the Stat. 12. Car. 2. c. 32, and all ſubſequent Statutes on that Head, to the Union, making it equally penal to export Wool to *Scotland*, as to any foreign Parts.

niſters, to treat for the ſettling of Leagues and Trade, *January*.

22. *Letters*, that Diſtractions were in *Holland*, and Fear of Tumults for want of Trade, *July* 23. † 1653.

23. A Committee appointed for Trade, &c. *Aug.* 10.

24. *Letters*, that in *Ireland* there wanted Men to till the Land there, *May* 12. 1654.

25. That *Ireland* was ſettled in as much Peace as it was before the Rebellion, *May* 20.

26. The Company of Merchant Adventurers of *England* reſiding at *Hamburgh*, ſent a Letter to me, ſubſcribed by moſt of them, intreating my Protection of them from the Injuries ſought to be put upon them by ſome of their diſcontented Brethren, who miſinformed the Lord Protector againſt them; and they ſent me the State of their Caſe, and I did them ſome Service therein, *January* 1.

27. An Act for the Exportation of ſeveral Commodities of the Breed, Growths, and Manufactures of this Commonwealth, *Novemb.* 27. 1656.

28. I furthered the Bill for ſettling the Company of Merchant Adventurers, *March* 13.

P. S. *Letters of Intelligence ſent by* Reſident Bradſhaw.

Dantz. 27 8^bris 1655. S. N. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 4. p. 86.

'*Our Intelligence at preſent is much obſtructed, and the* 'Breſlaw's *Poſt not yet come. And therefore I will give* 'you *ſome Information concerning Trade, which is not unfit* 1655.

O 2 '*for*

† 'When the Tyrant or Protector (as ſome call him) turned out the long Parliament, (*which was done* April 20, *in this Year* 1653) the Kingdom [of *England*] was arrived at the higheſt Pitch of *Trade*, *Wealth* and Honour, that it in any Age ever yet knew. The Trade appeared by the great Sums offered for the Cuſtoms, &c. The Riches of the Nation ſhewed itſelf in the high Value that Land and all our native Commodities bore.' *Harleian Miſcellany*, vol. 1. p. 281.

The World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwell, 1668. [f] *Diſcourſe of Trade*, p. 52. 4th Edit.

And poſſibly to the Cauſe of thoſe Diſtractions in Holland, *above-mentioned, it was in ſome degree owing, if the Trade of* England *was ſo particularly good at this Time, as here repreſented; and the Truth of which* Sir Joſiah Child [g] *and ſome* other *Accounts do ſeem to confirm.* [g] *See* Chap. 58. §. 10. *and* Chap. 66. §. 14.

'*for Conſideration in Reference to our Nation. There are*
'*Yearly in the upper Parts of* POLAND, *towards the Bor-*
'*ders of* SILESIA, *at* FRAWSTAD *and* LISSA, *and*
'*thereabouts,* 220,000 CLOTHS *made, as can be demon-*
'*ſtrated, beſides the* CLOTH *as is made in* theſe Parts;
'*and at* this Town, 15000 Pieces *of* Raſh, *beſides the*
'great Quanties *of* WOOL *exported hence for* HOLLAND
'conſtantly *and* continually; *which* Manufactures *will*
'*encreaſe, and* ours *be totally overthrown, if the* Swede
'*be permitted to burthen our Commodities; whereof we*
'*underſtand Complaint has been made by the* Eaſtland
'Merchants. *I doubt not but you have been pleaſed to*
'*ſignify the ſame formerly, and would willingly know what*
'*Reception it finds.* The *Duke of* Brandenburgh *hath*
'*beſpoke a Livery for his Soldiers,* 100,000 Ells *of all of*
'Sileſia CLOTH at *Koningsbergh,* and not one Ell of
'*Engliſh, which uſed to be altogether in Requeſt*; but
'indeed our Cloth making is not well looked into in
'ENGLAND; the ſpinning and making is very bad,
'which ought alſo to be redreſſed.

CHAP. XLI.

The Golden Fleece, *wherein is related the Riches of the* Engliſh Wools *in its Manufactures, together with the true Uſes and Abuſes of the* Aulnagers, Meaſurers, *and* Searchers *Offices.*

By * W. S. *Gent.* 1656.

Page 1. 1. THERE is nothing in this flouriſhing Nation of *England*, ſo univerſally good and beneficial to the People thereof, as is the Converſion of Wool into its

* The greater Part of this Book being merely a Tranſcript of that intitled, *The Eſtate of Clothing.* By *J. May.* 1613 [h]; only ſuch Parts thereof are here ſelected, as were judged material for the Reader's Obſervation, as not being contained in the aforeſaid, or in any other preceding Tract.

[h] Ch. 28.

its ſeveral Manufactures. † Wool is the Flower and Strength, the Revenue and Blood of *England*. The Page 2.
Wools of *England* have ever been of great Honour and
Reception abroad, as hath been ſufficiently witneſſed by 3.
the conſtant Amity, which for many hundred Years hath been inviolably maintained between the Kings of *England* and the Dukes of *Burgundy*, only *for the Benefit of Wool* ‖; whoſe Subjects receiving the *Engliſh* Wool at 6 *d. per* Pound, returned it in Cloth at ten Shillings a Yard. ‡

2. This Intercourſe of Trade between *England* and 7.
Burgundy, endured till *Edw.* III. made his mighty Conqueſts over *France* and *Scotland* *. From which Time forward, Wool was to be wrought in *England* with Prohibition, under Penalty of Life and Limb, at the King's Pleaſure; that none in any Sort, without the King's eſpecial Licence, ſhould be tranſported. ††

3. For want of the *Aulnager doing his Duty in a pro-* 11.
per manner, the Trade of Clothing is almoſt quite loſt in *England*, and daily increaſeth in *Holland* by the help of *Engliſh* Wool and *Fuller's Earth*; the Prevention of whoſe Exportation is provided by more *ancient* and *ſevere Laws* than any other relating to Trade. ∴

4. The whole World cannot produce ſuch Accom- 59.
modations for accompliſhing the work of Clothing, as can the Nation of *England*. For tho' moſt Countries do afford Wools, and thoſe of *Spain* are finer than any other Part of the World §. Yet will not thoſe of *Spain* 60.
ſort in Work with any other Nations, unleſs it be theſe

† Very true.

‖ This not the real Reaſon of that long Alliance. But it was their mutual Intereſt againſt the then growing Power of *France*.

‡ *Gratis dictum*: As if all *Wool* and *Cloth* had been of one Sort, and of one Price.

* Yea, and much longer. (*See above*, Chap. 39. §. 13. *Note*.)

†† See this to be falſe Hiſtory, (Chap. 5, 6.)

∴ In regard to *Wool*, ſee the foregoing Part of theſe Memoirs, from *Edw.* III; particularly Chap. 5, 6, 7.

And as to *Fuller's Earth*, I don't find it mentioned till the Reign of King *James*. (*See* Chap. 33. §. 11.)

§ *Europe*, he ſhould have ſaid. Some of the Wools of *Aſia* being ſtill finer than the fineſt of *Spain*.

of *England*: a Reaſon whereof may peradventure be, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Wools are grown originally from the *Engliſh* Sheep *, which by that Soyl reſemblant to the Downs of *England* †; and by the Elevation of the Pole for Warmth, are come to that Fineneſs; yet keep they a natural Conjunction, and as it were Affection, with theſe from whom they are deſcended. However, the Wools of *England* are ſuperlative to all the World for Fineneſs, except that of *Spaniſh*, which neither by itſelf, nor by Incorporation with the Wools of any *other Nation*, will be wrought into *any Cloth*, without the Help and *Mixture* of *Engliſh Wools*; which being carded together (as by the *Engliſh Clothiers* they are) they produce the richeſt Manufacture in Clothing, which the whole World can ſhew.

Page 61. 5. Again, there is another Material, without which Clothing cannot be perfected, which alſo in the Excellency of it is appropriated to *England*; that is, *Fullers Earth*, without which, Clothing cannot ‖ be ſcoured from the Scame and Oyls, wherewith they muſt neceſſarily be wrought. It is poſſible and probable, that other Parts of the World may produce *Fullers Earth*, but neither in ſuch Fineneſs nor Abundance, as this in *England*; which Approbation is highly confirmed by the Appraiſement which the *Hollanders* make of it, who ſpare not upon occaſion, to give ten Pounds *Sterling* a Tun for it; which any Man may have in ſuch Places as it grows, for three Shillings the ſame Quantity. Surely this is a great Temptation to break a Commandment or *Statute of Parliament*; and ſo they do familiarly, as preſently ſhall appear.

‖ *See* Ch. 173.

6. Such as ſhall be pleaſed to peruſe the *Statutes* made in the Beginning of King *Edw.* III. to prohibit the Tranſportation of *raw Wool*, *white Cloths* and *Fullers Earth* ‡, ſhall find that the Penalty which thoſe did inflict upon ſuch as ſhould break them, did extend to *Life or Limb at the King's Pleaſure, which of them he would pleaſe to take.*

7. True

* A mere Fable this. (*See* Chap. 12. §. 15. *Note.*)

† As if all *England* was *Downs*, and all *Engliſh Wool* in *Kind* alike.

‡ Here is a Jumble of falſe Hiſtory. (*See above*, Ch. 5. §. 5, 12, 35.)

7. True it is, that after Clothing was ſettled, and Wools multiplied beyond the Manufactures, then (with Licence from the State) Wools were permitted to be tranſported; and by the like Licence they have continued to be exported. Yet for the moſt part, the State did ſtrictly regard the Reſtraint, and in the chief Liberty of Exportation, the Grant was permitted only upon the meaner Sort of Wools, and thoſe commonly from *Ireland* [k], where Clothing might not be grieved. But the Caſe is otherwiſe now; the Practice and Trade of tranſporting its Materials is now become almoſt an open Profeſſion; and were this Preſumption but as formerly the Permiſſions, Grants and Licenſes were; that is, upon the worſt Wools only, the Faults were the leſs. But theſe Mens Trade conſiſts of the beſt and fineſt Wools combed into Jarſies preſently fit for Spinning; and theſe are contrived into Bales, as thoſe of Drapery, and entered into the Cuſtom-houſes, and ſhipped as Clothing, and in all Points ſo cunningly carried, as they are ſeldom diſcovered, and *never* ſeized, as the *Statutes* ‖ do ſtrictly require.

[k] Ch. 32. §. 18. *Note.*

8. Above 300 Years, theſe Workes of Clothing have been confined to this Nation, and until late Years have been ſo preſerved, by the Diligence of ſuch Officers as have been ordained and empowered, carefully to ſee the Manufactures kept under thoſe Rules, which the Laws have provided for their Perfection; among which it muſt be concluded, that the Materials were of ſpecial Regard, which, as we have ſaid, are *Wools* and *Fullers Earth*: and ſeeing this Nation is by God *peculiarized* in theſe Bleſſings, and through the Vigilancy of its Monarchs ſafe guarded by Laws, that the native Manufactures might not be undermined by the Practices of Foreigners, their ancient Providence exacts from the preſent Age the ſame Preſervation, that thoſe Particulars be not common to ſuch as daily labour to ſupplant the very Being of this ſo important Trade; the Neglect whereof hath already

Page 64.

‖ There had no Statute paſſed, for this End, in *England*, unleſs the Ordinance of Parliament, *Jan.* 19. 1647. might be called ſuch, (*ſee* Chap. 39. §. 3.) and therefore I ſhould think our Author meant the *Iriſh* Statutes 11 and 13 *Eliz.* that were thus eluded. (*See* Chap. 46. §. 5. *Note. Iriſh* Statutes.)

brought the Scales to an Equality of the Beame between *England* and *Holland*, if rather the Inclination tend not to their Advantage.

Page 67. 9. The Premiſes conſidered, let any Man be Judge, whether that Nation ought to be helped with the *Wools* and *Fuller's Earth*, without which they *cannot* * work, and which tho' prohibited, almoſt as Felony, there is nothing more daily practiſed.

10. Nor is the Loſs in this Caſe all the Injury. But when honeſt Men do detect theſe Caterpillars, when they endeavour by due Courſe of Law to make Stoppage thereof, and to have the Offenders puniſhed, ſo many are the Evaſions, ſuch Combinations and Intereſts in the Officers who ought to puniſh; ſuch Favour have they in the Courts of Juſtice; and in general, ſuch are the
68. Affronts and Diſcouragements, as the deareſt Lover of his Country, or moſt intereſted in Trade, dares not attempt to prevent that Miſchief, which his Eyes behold to fall upon his Nation. †

96. 11. In this part of our Complaint, we preſume not to meddle with Licenſes granted by the State *to export raw Wool*, or white Cloths, both of which have been permitted to paſs the Seas, as well for the good of the People, as for the Benefit of Clothing itſelf; yet ſo as to have the ſame limitted, and joined with the Tranſportation of coloured Cloths, may be found much to the Advantage of the Nations Commodity in Clothing; and likewiſe to obſerve Times in ſuch Licenſes is very requiſite.

97. 12. As for *raw Wools*, there may be Advantage to the Commonwealth by their Exportation; namely, when the Cloth Trade is obſtructed, and the Manufactures lye upon the Clothiers Hands; which ſtopping the Utterance of Cloth, leaves the Wool upon the Graziers Hands, and extends to the Prejudice of almoſt all the People of *England*. Nevertheleſs, ſuch as can find a Market for Wools, may, if they pleaſe, find a Market for Cloths; therefore they ought to paſs together, ſo as the Wools in ſmaller Quantity may help off the Cloths in greater meaſure.

13. The

* But theſe are falſe Premiſes. (*See* Chap. 34. §. 1.)

† Obſerve what follows, §. 12, 13, 13.

13. The Place alſo to which Wool may be licenſed to paſs, ought to be conſidered; and that may rather be any where, than the *Netherlands*, where their whole Drift is to undermine the *Engliſh Cloth Trade*; which they cannot ſo profitably accompliſh, if they be forced to procure the Wools through many Hands and ſeveral Voyages ‖. By no Means therefore is the preſent Practice to be borne, which daily carrieth away of the fineſt Sorts of Wool ready combed into Jarſie for Work.

14. Laſtly, for *Fullers Earth*, there is never any occaſion why that ſhould be tranſported; therefore to have it licenſed either by its own Name, or by that of *Tobacco-pipe Clay*, or by any other Title, is clearly the greateſt Injury which ſhall be done to Clothing: It is a Commodity which the *Dutch* cannot get in any Quantity or Worth, nearer than the *Streights* *, unleſs from *England*, where the total Exportation being the more laden with Charge, the *Engliſh* will be better able to underſell them.

CHAP.

‖ As if the *Dutch* had no Supplies of Wool, but from *England* or *Ireland*. (*See* Chap. 40. *P. S.* Chap. 94. §. 5, 7, 8, 10.) Or as if a Cuſtom might not have been impoſed, which would have anſwered the ſame End full as well, and indeed much better.

* But admitting they can have it from the *Streights*, and that *England* has enough, and to ſpare [l], what Madneſs is it, not to ſuffer the Exportation thereof, paying ſome proper Duty?

[l] *See* Ch. 173.

As the great Drift of J. May's [m] *Eſtate of Clothing*, 1613, *was to promote the Office of the* Aulnager; *ſo are there Paſſages in this Book, plainly ſhewing that it was calculated chiefly for the ſame End; which Part of this Book, to avoid Repetition, I have therefore omitted. And as to the* falſe Hiſtory, *and* Reveries *of this Author, they would not have deſerved Notice, but that the ſame appear to have been tranſcribed by ſubſequent Writers, ſome* [n] *of better Note; and ſeemingly at leaſt are further countenanced by ſeveral* Acts of Parliament *of a later Date. But what I would mainly have obſerved from this Book, is, that tho' the hiſtorical Part is either entirely falſe, or elſe couched in ſuch Terms as will be apt to miſlead the unwary Reader; yet there is this one Circumſtance touching the Times this Author lived in, that he* could not *miſtake*, durſt not *miſrepreſent*; *namely, that of* Wools being then exported by Licence (§. 11.) *Which*

[m] Ch. 28.

[n] Ch. 114. §. 5. *Note*.

ſhows,

CHAP. XLII.

Extract of a Letter of Mr. Downing (at the *Hague*) *to the Preſident of the Council at* London.

HAGUE, $\frac{16}{26}$ *March*, 1660.

Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 7. p. 848.

UPon Examination, I do find, that there are daily great Quantities of *Engliſh* Wool brought from *England* to this Country; and being particularly informed that one *John Signey* or *Signam*, Maſter of a Veſſel called the *Elizabeth* of *Lyn*, had lately brought over from thence a Parcel of Wool to *Dort*, I deſired the Deputy Governor

ſhews, that tho' the Exportation of Wool *had been totally prohibited by an* Ordinance of Parliament, Jan. 19. 1647; *yet that* Ordinance *had not been well obſerved, nor yet ſo ſtrictly adhered to, even by the executive Powers, but that the State thought fit to admit of at leaſt a limited* Exportation of Wool, *in virtue of ſpecial Licences granted for that End. And this merits our Obſervation the more, becauſe we have ſeen already, and ſhall find hereafter* † *this very Period of Time diſtinguiſhed both for the good State of the Woolen Trade itſelf, and for the advanced Price of Wool, and Rents of Land, compared with the Times following of* Charles II. *when under the Notion of advantaging the Kingdom in all thoſe three reſpects, the Exportation of Wool was fully prohibited* ‖, *without any known avowed Diſpenſations to the contrary. But, on the other hand, the Tranſgreſſion of Law in that Caſe was made Felony* ‡.

Moreover, *As this Writer has ſaid nothing concerning the Price of Wool in* England *at this Time; his Silence in that Head is an Argument that it was ſuch as furniſhed no Handle of popular Complaint, but that what others have ſaid in relation to its ſelling well at this particular Period, is true. He ſays indeed, that the Cloth Trade was decayed; but that we ſhall ſee Reaſon to think was more the Caſe, after the Reſtoration, than before.* (See Chap. 43. *P.* 8.)

† Chap. 40. §. 22. *Note.* Chap. 45. §. 1. Chap. 51. §. 14. Chap. 58. §. 10. Chap. 66. §. 14.

‖ 12 *Car.* II. c. 32.

‡ 13, 14 *Car.* II. c. 18.

nor of the *Merchant Adventurers* of *England*, to examine the Buſineſs; but yet ſo, as that the ſaid *Signey* might not be at all alarmed, or have any Notice thereof; and I have here incloſed to your Lordſhip, a Copy of the Examination taken upon Oath, and humbly ſubmit it to you. And truly, unleſs ſomething be by Parliament very ſpeedily done *, in Relation to the Woolen Manufacture of *England*; as this Country hath already in a manner wholly gotten the Manufacturing of fine Cloth, ſo this Country and *Seleſia* will between them divide alſo the manufacturing of coarſe Cloth; and *England* have nothing left but the Growth of its Wool, as it formerly had, being conſtrained to ſend it abroad to be manufactured.

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* Here note, that Mr. *Downing* ſays, 'Unleſs ſomething 'be done in relation to the Woolen Manufacture,' *England* muſt ſend its Wool abroad to be manufactured. He does not ſay, *Unleſs ſome further Courſe be taken to enforce the Execution of the Laws againſt exporting Wool*; which he might as eaſily have ſaid. But he ſays, 'Unleſs, &c. 'England *muſt* ſend its Wool abroad.' So that he plainly does not lay much Streſs upon the Prohibition; and indeed how could he? knowing that the *Hollanders* made their fine Cloth of *Spaniſh*, and the *Sileſians*, what he calls coarſe, of Wool of their own Country, and of *Poland*. What then was that *ſomething* which, in his Opinion, wanted to be done? Probably, he had an Eye to what had been before-mentioned by *Reſident Bradſhaw* °, 'That the *Swede* bur- ° Ch. 40. 'thened our Woolen Commodities, and that our Cloth- P. S.
'making was not well looked into in *England*, the ſpinning 'and making was very bad, and wanted to be redreſſed.' Theſe were Points of ſuch a Nature, as properly fell under the Care and Power of the State, in order to redreſs. But for the prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool, he knew it to be a novel Device, which could not anſwer the Intention of promoting the Woolen Exportation Trade; nay, which could not ſo much as prevent the Exportation of Wool. And indeed it will be amply ſhewn, that it cannot anſwer any End at all, in regard to the Trade of *England*, further than as ſuch Prohibition is a Means to take the Wool from the Grower, (whoſe Property it is) and give it to the Dealer, *at his own Price*. However, immediately upon the Reſtoration (now very near at hand) followed,

An Act prohibiting the Exportation of Sheep, Wool, Woolfells, Fuller's Earth, or any kind of ſcouring Clay. 12 Car. II. c. 32. (*See* Chap. 43 *P. S. Note.*)

CHAP. XLIII.

The Interlopers and Merchant Adventurers, commonly called the Hamburgh *Company*, 1662.

Chambers's Dict.

THE *Hamburgh* Company is the oldeſt trading Eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom, though not always known by that Name. It was firſt called the *Company of Merchants trading to* Calais [p], *&c.* laſtly, the Company of *Merchant Adventurers* trading to *Hamburgh*.

[p] *The Brotherhood of St.* Tho. à Becket. Ch. 25.

The firſt Charter whereby the *Hamburgh* Company was eſtabliſhed, was in 1406, under *Henry* IV. It was afterwards augmented with divers Privileges by *Henry* V. in 1413. *Henry* VI. 1422. *Henry* VII. 1493, 1505, 1506. *Henry* VIII. 1509, 1517, 1531. *Edw.* VI. 1547. Queen *Mary* 1553. Queen *Eliz.* 1564, 1586. King *James* 1605, 1617. *Car.* II. 1661.

Henry VI[t]. firſt gave them the Title of *Merchant Adventurers* to *Calais*, *Holland*, &c.

The Woolen Manufacture being the principal Object of their Application, they met with great Oppoſition therein, firſt from the *Hanſe* [r], who forced them frequently to change their Mart or Staple; and afterwards under King *James* I. who having erected a Corporation in 1616 [s], in Favour of ſome private Perſons who offered to ſet up a Manufacture for dying and preſſing Cloths, *&c.* under Pretence whereof, the Company of *Merchant Adventurers* were prohibited dealing therein. But that Project not ſucceeding, and the Charter being revoked two Years afterwards, the *Merchant Adventurers*, who had been diſſolved two Years before, were reſtored in 1617, to their ancient Privileges, and a new Charter was given them, confirming their excluſive Right; and allowing them to have Officers in the Cuſtomhouſes, to have an Eye that they were not prejudiced in their Woolens, under Pretence of the like Merchandizes, which others were allowed to ſend to other Parts. This Charter of King

[r] Ch. 26.

[s] Ch. 30, 31.

James,

'*James*, is the laſt of thoſe confirmed by *Car.* II. in the 'grand Charter of 1661.' *

This Renewal of their Charter, gave great Umbrage to a Number of ſeperate Traders (called, by way of Diſtinction, *Interlopers*) particularly at *Exeter*, who in this Year 1662, preſented to Parliament a Petition, complaining of a ſuppoſed Grievance; which Petition produced the following Order.

2. *Veneris*, 14 *Feb.* 14 Car. II.

At the grand Committee for Trade (Mr. *Knight* in the Chair.)

ORDERED,

'That on *Monday* next the *Merchant Adventurers* of '*England* do deliver unto Mr. *Doncaſter*; and the Petitioners and all others, who have appeared to oppoſe the 'Patent of the *Merchant Adventurers*, to Mr. *Skynner*, 'the Companies Agent, all their Papers relating to the 'Conveniencies and Inconveniencies ariſing to this Kingdom, as to the Liberty or Reſtraint of Trade, within 'the Limits of the ſaid *Merchant Adventurers* Patent: 'And that each of them do bring in their final Anſwers 'thereunto, on this Day ſevennight; that this Committee may have the Matter before them, and thereupon proceed to a Reſult therein.'

3. Hereupon the Traders called *Interlopers*, offered their Reaſons, and the *Fellowſhip of Merchant Adventurers* gave in their Anſwers; and a Replication was made on both Sides. All which was printed in the ſame Folio, upon oppoſite Columns.

4. But

* 'The Revolutions which had happened in the *Low* '*Countries* towards the End of the ſixteenth Century, and 'which laid the Foundation of the Republick of *Holland*, 'having hindered the Company from continuing their Commerce with their ancient Freedom, it was obliged to turn 'it almoſt wholly to the Side of *Hamburgh*, and the Cities 'on the *German* Ocean; from which Change ſome People 'took occaſion to change its Name to that of the *Hamburgh* '*Company*, though the ancient Title of *Merchant Adventurers* is ſtill retained in all their Writings.'

4. But as this Controverſy had been agitated at Times, from the Diſſolution of the *Stilyard* Company in *Edw.* VI. and has ſince wholly ceaſed; ſo tho' I have already occaſionally inſerted [1] ſo much of thoſe Reaſons and Anſwers, as is hiſtorical, *i. e.* relating to Facts at certain Times paſt, and ſhall here add ſome few more tending to give Light into the State of the Woolen Trade at this preſent Period 1662 particularly; yet I think it needleſs to enter further into the Arguments on either Side, of which we have ſeen ſomething already in *Wheeler* of Commerce, (Ch. 25.) and in *Miſſelden* and *Maylines*, (Ch. 32, 33, 34.)

Chap. 17.
[1] Ch. 34. §. 7. *Note.* §. 8. *Note.* Chap. 36. §. 5. *Note.* §. 7. *Note.* Chap. 39. §. 2. *Note.*

5. *The Grievances alledged by the Petitioners, were,* 'that by this Reſtraint, the Clothiers of *Exeter* particularly, had within ſix or eight Months paſt, ſuffered in their Trade for their Cloths and Stuffs. That the *Merchant Adventurers* did not ſhip from *Exon*, the tenth Part of what had been ſhipped by others. —That from *June* 24, 1661, till *September* 29 then following, they had bought and tranſported of Serges, broad Cloths, Kerſies, *Devonſhire* Dozens, and Bays, 225 Pieces and no more. And Mr. *Butler*, and four or five more *Exeter* Merchants (not of the *Merchant Adventurers* Company) have in the ſame Time, tranſported of the ſame Goods into the ſame Provinces † 9254 Pieces. And from *September* 21, 1661, for three Months then next following, theſe *Merchant Adventurers* have bought and tranſported from our City, only 370 Pieces of the ſaid Manufactures; and thoſe not free of the ſaid Company, have tranſported only 4721 Pieces thereof, which is 4513 Pieces leſs than in the former Quarter, and the Reaſon of this Decay, is the Power of the Company, and their Agents.'

6. The *Merchant Adventurers*, in their Defence urged, 'that the white Clothing Trade was abated from near

† Hence, and from what follows, tho' the Company of *Merchant Adventurers* had the ſame excluſive Powers by their Charter from King *James* in 1617, as by this laſt from *Car.* II. in 1661; yet it ſeems as if thoſe Powers had been diſuſed for ſome time, and that they were revived only with their new Charter, commencing but *Sept.* 21. 1661, altho' it was granted ſome Months before.

'near 100,000 Cloths Yearly, to leſs than 11000 a 'Year, a Cauſe why the Wool of the Kingdom lay 'ſometimes on the Grower's Hands.—That of the laſt 'Years ſhipping, there are more than 14000 Stuffs lie 'upon the Hands of the Company at *Hamburgh*; be-'ſides all other Cloths and Woolen Manufactures, to 'near 30,000 Cloths.'

7. The Reſult was, according to a Tract publiſhed *Ann.* 1689, intitled, *Reaſons humbly offered*, &c. (*See* Ch. 73.)

'A temporary Liberty granted to all Perſons to buy 'and ſhip out our *Woolen Manufacture*; but ſo far was 'it, upon Trial made, from anſwering the End pro-'poſed, that the very Clothiers themſelves did, in the 'following Year 1663, petition that the ſaid Liberty 'might be revoked, and accordingly, upon their Petition, 'it was revoked.

P. S. Exports to all the World from *England*, *Anno* 1662 to 1663, were 2,022 812 *l.* 4 *s.* 0 — *Britiſh Merchant*, vol. 2. p. 354.

Imports — — — 4016 019 18 0

The Imports exceed the Exports* 1,993 207 14 0 — *See* Ch. 34. §. 9.

An Act for regulating the making of Stuffs in Norfolk *and* Norwich. 13, 14 *Car.* II. c. 5. 24 Sections. The Number of Wardens on increaſe of *Norwich* Stuffs, being not ſufficient, and eight as by 7 *Edw.* IV. c. 1, too few, they are increaſed to twelve. — Chap. 27. §. 7. *Note*. Chap. 26. §. 4.

An Act againſt the exporting of Sheep, Wool, Woolfells, Mortlings, Shortlings, Yarn made of Wool, Woollſtocks, Fullers Earth, Fulling Clay, and Tobacco-pipe Clay. 13, 14 *Car.* II. c. 18.

Every Offence againſt this Act was made Felony; which tho' it continued in Force to the Reign of King *William*, was never executed in any one Inſtance.

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* Hence, as alſo from what goes before (§. 5, 6, 7.) it ſeems as if the Statute 12 *Car.* II.[a] c. 32. prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, had not produced thoſe good Effects to the Woolen Trade, which, we may conceive, were intended by, and expected from, it. (*See* Chap. 44. §. 7. Chap. 46. §. 4.)

[a] Ch. 42. *Note*.

CHAP. XLIV.

England's *Interest considered in the Increase of the Trade of this Kingdom.* By Samuel Fortrey. *First published in the Year* 1663.

P. 11. 1. OUR Care should be, to increase chiefly our Stock of Cattle. First, by a Liberty for every Man to enjoy his Lands in Severalty and Inclosure, one of the

P. 12. *Inclosures, an Improvement.* greatest Improvements this Nation is capable of; for want whereof we find by daily Experience, that the Profit of a great Part of the Land and Stock of this Kingdom, as now employed, is wholly lost. And this appears, in that the Land of the common Fields almost in all Places of this Nation, with all the Advantages that belong unto them, will not let for above one third Part so much as the same Land would do inclosed, and always several.

P. 13. 2. But it may be objected, that Inclosures would cause great Depopulations and Scarcity of Corn, as hath been conceived by former Parliaments.

P. 14. *They don't make Corn scarce, nor depopulate.* 3. To this I answer, Corn would be nothing the scarcer by Inclosure, but rather more plentiful, tho' a great deal less Land were tilled: For then every ingenious Husband would only plough that Land he found most fitting for it, and that no longer than he found it able to bring him Profit. And as to Depopulations by Inclosures, granting it increaseth Plenty, as cannot well be denied; how Increase and Plenty can depopulate, cannot well be conceived: Nor surely do any imagine that the People which lived in those Towns they call depopulated, were all destroyed, because they lived no longer there, when indeed they were only removed to other Places, where they might better benefit themselves, and profit the Publick. Certainly they might as well think the Nation undone, should they observe how *London* is depopulated in a long Vacation, when Men are only retired into the Country, about their private and necessary Employments; and the like might they think of the Country in the Term Time, yet a Man is not thereby added or diminished to the Nation.

4. Further,

4. Further; as many, or more Families, may be maintained and employed in the Manufacture of the Wool that may arise out of one hundred Acres of Pasture, than can be employed in a far greater Quantity of Arable; who perhaps do not always find it most covenient for them to live just on the Place where the Wool groweth, by which Means Cities and great Towns are peopled, nothing to the Prejudice of the Kingdom. Page 15.

5. Wherefore then, if by Inclosure the Land itself is raised to a greater Value, and a less Quantity capable of a greater Increase; and if it really causeth no Depopulation, but at most a Removal of People thence, where without Benefit to the Public, or Profit to themselves, they laboured and toiled, to a more convenient Habitation, where they might with less Pains greatly advantage both: And if the Manufactures and other profitable Employments of the Nation are increased, by adding thereto such Numbers of People, who formerly served only to waste, not to increase, the Store of the Nation, it cannot be denied, but the Encouragement of Inclosure, where every Man's just Right may be preserved, would infinitely conduce to the Increase and Plenty of this Nation, and is a Thing very worthy the Countenance and Care of a Parliament.

6. In the next place, our Manufactures are to be considered, on which chiefly depends both the Wealth and Prosperity of this Kingdom. For by the Increase and Encouragement thereof, the Subjects are employed in honest and industrious Callings, maintained and preserved from Want, and those Mischiefs which commonly attend Idleness: the People furnished at home with all things both of Necessity and Pleasure, and by the Overplus procure from abroad, whatever for Delight or Use is wanting. — Page 16.

7. The chief Manufactures amongst us at this Day, are only *Woolen Cloths*, *Woolen Stuffs* of all sorts, *Stockins*, *Ribbandings*, and perhaps some few Silk Stuffs, and some other small things scarce worth naming; and these already named, so decayed and adulterated, that they are almost out of Esteem both at home and abroad. And this because foreign Commodities are grown into so great *The Manufactures of* England; *they are decayed, and why?*

Eſteem among us *, as we wholly undervalue and neglect the Uſe of our own; whereby that great Expence of Treaſure, that is yearly waſted in Clothing, Furnitures, and the like, redounds chiefly to the Profit of Strangers, and to the Ruin of his Majeſties Subjects. And this will more plainly appear, if we examine the Particulars, as not long ſince given in to the *French* King by his own People, upon a Deſign he had conceived of prohibiting the *Engliſh* Trade with *France*.

Page 17. 8. Velvets plain and wrought, Sattins plain and wrought, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Armoyſins and other Merchandizes of Silk, which are made at *Lions*, and are valued to be yearly worth — £ 150,000

In Silk, Stuffs, Taffeties, Poudeſoys, *&c.* Tabbies, plain and wrought Silk, Ribbands, *&c.* made at *Tours*, — — £ 300,000

In Silk, Ribbands, Gallowns, Laces and Buttons of Silk made at *Paris*, *Rouen*, *&c.* £ 150,000

A great Quantity of Serges made at *Chalons*, *Chartres*, *Eſtamin*, *Rheims*, *Amiens*, *&c.* £ 150,000

In Bever, Demicaſtor and Felt Hats of *Paris*, *&c.* — — — £ 120,000

In Feathers, Belts, Girdles, Hatbands, Fans, Hoods, Masks, gilt and wrought Looking-glaſſes, Cabinets, Watches, Pictures, Caſes, Medals, Tablets, Bracelets, and other ſuch like Mercery Wares, above — £ 150,000

In perfumed and trimmed Gloves, — £ 10,000

In all Sorts of Ironmonger Wares, — £ 40,000

In Linen Cloth made in *Britany* and *Normandy*, — — — £ 400,000

In Pins, Needles, Box Combs, Tortois-ſhell Combs, *&c.* — — £ 20,000

In Papers of all Sorts, above — £ 100,000

In Houſhold Stuff, Beds, Bedding, *&c.* — £ 100,000

In Wines, above — — £ 600,000

In Aqua Vitæ, Cyder, Vinegar, Verjuice, *&c.* £ 100,000

In Saffron, Caſtile Soap, Honey, Almonds, Prunes, *&c.* — — £ 150,000

Beſides five or ſix hundred Veſſels of Salt.

† Total above — £ 2,600,000

* And this we may conceive was much more the Caſe, ſince the Reſtoration, than before.

† By caſting our Eyes upon the Particulars here mentioned,

The Commodities exported out of *England* into *France*, conſiſting chiefly of Woolen Cloths, Serges, Knit Stockins, Lead, Pewter, Allum, and all elſe, do not amount to above £ 1,000,000 a Year.

By which it appears, that our Trade with *France* is at leaſt, clear Loſs to this Kingdom £ 1,600,000.

Whereby the King of *France* finding it would prove to his Loſs, to forbid the Trade with *England*, ſoon laid aſide the Deſign; however raiſed the Cuſtom of ſome of our *Engliſh* Commodities, by which means, the Vent of thoſe Commodities is very much leſſened and hindered. Hereby it will appear how inſenſibly our Treaſure will be exhauſted, and the Nation beggared.

9. But moſt of theſe Evils would be eaſily prevented, if only his Majeſty would be pleaſed to commend to his People, by his own Example, the Eſteem and Value he hath of his own Commodities. This alone, without further Trouble, would be at leaſt *Ten hundred thouſand* Page 20 *Pounds a Year* to the Advantage of his People. For the Courtiers always endeavour to imitate the Prince. And Gentry copy after the Court, and ſo on.

10. As concerning Merchants aſſociating themſelves in Companies, it is ſomewhat difficult to determine; at leaſt it is proper that every one that pleaſe, may be admitted of a Company *, on fit and reaſonable Terms.

tioned, and the Sum to which they amount, we ſhall perceive, that however the *French*, on their Part, may have increaſed their Woolen Manufactures ſince this Time, yet *England* has not been behind hand with them in Improvements in other reſpects; for that moſt of theſe Commodities, formerly imported from *France*, are now manufactured in *England*, not only for Home Uſe, but, ſeveral of them, for Exportation alſo. Theſe things conſidered, we ſhould not indulge too much our Complaints of the Decay of Trade and Manufacture amongſt us; eſpecially, when, as it will be ſeen, (Chap. 139, 171.) at the ſame time that we have gained all this and more, we have not gone back in, but rather increaſed, our Woolen Exportation Trade upon the whole.

* *An Act for the Encouragement of Trade*, 15 Car. II. c. 5.

It was enacted, 'That for every Head of great Cattle, 'except ſuch as are of the Breed of *Scotland*) that ſhall be 'imported,

CHAP. XLV.

England's *Treaſure by foreign Trade; or, the Balance of foreign Trade is the Rule of our Treaſure.* By Thomas Mun *of* London, *Merchant. Firſt printed in* 1664.

Page 8. 1. IN our Exportations, we muſt not only regard our own Superfluities, but alſo we muſt conſider our Neighbours Neceſſities, that ſo upon the Wares which they cannot want, nor yet be furniſhed thereof elſewhere, we may (beſides the Vent of the Materials) gain ſo much of the Manufacture as we can, and alſo endeavour to ſell them dear; ſo far forth as the high Price cauſe not a leſs Vent in the Quantity. But the Superfluity of our Commodities, which Strangers uſe, and may alſo have the ſame from other Nations, or may abate the Vent by the Uſe of ſome ſuch like Wares from other Places, and with little

' imported, or brought into *England* after the firſt Day of ' *July*, and before the 20th of *December*; and for every ' Head of great Cattle, of the Breed of *Scotland*, imported ' after the 24th of *Auguſt*, and before the 20th of *Decem-* ' *ber*, in every Year, there ſhall be paid to his Majeſty the ' Sum of 20*s.* and the Sum of 10*s.* to him that ſhall inform ' or ſeize the ſame; and the Sum of 10*s.* to the Poor of the ' Pariſh, where ſuch Seizure and Information ſhall be ' made.' *The very conſiderable Underbalance of the* Engliſh *Trade, at this Time, occaſioning, as it needs muſt, a real Scarcity of Money, and in courſe, an extraordinary Cheapneſs of all native Commodities: It ſeems as if the Nation, overlooking that great and principal Cauſe, imputed the low Price of Fleſh, to the* Scotch *and* Iriſh Cattle *brought into the Kingdom. And therefore this Act was ſo contrived, that no fleſhed or fat Cattle ſhould come from thence. But leaving ſtill a Liberty of importing them lean,* viz. *from* Chriſtmas *to* July *and* Auguſt, *and it not being very practicable, from* Ireland *eſpecially, but in the Spring or Summer Seaſon, the Act became partial, and turned to the Benefit of the Feeding Graſiers only, at the Expence of the* Engliſh *Breeder, and the common general Intereſt of the whole Kingdom beſides.* (See Chap. 46. §. 5. *Note.*)

little Inconvenience, we muſt in this Caſe ſtrive to ſell as cheap as poſſibly we can, rather than to loſe the Utterance of ſuch Wares. For we have found of late Years by good Experience, that, being able to ſell our Cloth cheap in *Turkey*, we have greatly increaſed the Vent thereof; and the *Venetians* have loſt as much in the Utterance of theirs in thoſe Countries, becauſe it is dearer. And on the other ſide, a few Years paſt, when by the *exceſſive Price of Wools*, our Cloth was exceeding dear, we loſt at the leaſt half our Clothing for foreign Parts, which ſince is no otherwiſe (well near) recovered again, than by the great Fall of the Price for Wool and Cloth *.

Wool at an exceſſive Price a few Years paſt, and Cloth dear.

* This Author, tho' a Merchant of Note, whoſe Name we often find mentioned with Approbation, as a Writer on Trade, ſeems to have entangled himſelf in a Dilemma. He ſets out very much in the Language of thoſe who maintain, that Wool or Cloth is not only what other Nations cannot want, but alſo what they *muſt* be furniſhed with from *England*; yet conſidering that ſince the Exportation of Wool had been prohibited by Act of Parliament 1660, the Price of Wool and Cloth both had fallen conſiderably in *England*, he ſtops ſhort his Argument; and ſteering a direct contrary Courſe, ingenuouſly owns that other Nations wanted neither the ART nor the MATERIAL; and from thence endeavours to perſuade his Readers, that tho' the Price of Wool and Cloth had fallen, yet the Nation had found its Account therein, by the *Quantity* of Drapery exported; which he would have believed, was greatly increaſed. But here we have nothing but his own bare Word for it; and which in Fact, there is Reaſon to think, was not true, as well from what we have ſeen urged by the Interlopers (Chap. 43. §. 5.) and owned by the *Merchant Adventurers* (Chap. 43. §. 6.) as from the Accounts of Exports in 1662 (Chap. 43. §. 1.[a]) and again in 1668 (Chap. 49. §. 2. *Note.*) which are lower than at any time we can ſuppoſe them to have been ſince *Edward* VI. For, *N. B. The* Britiſh *Merchant computes, that in the Years* 1662-3, *and in* 1668-9, *the Exports of Woolens from* England *did not exceed* 900,000l. *each Year.* (See Chap. 86. §. 4. Note.) *But we muſt imagine that* England *had ſome better Years in this Period, if not in regard to the Quantity of Woolens exported, yet to the general Balance of Trade; for that the Nation could not have ſubſiſted*

[a] *See alſo* Chap. 46. §. 4.

The Price of both fallen 25 per Cent.

2. We find that twenty-five in the Hundred leſs in the Price of theſe and ſome other Wares, to the Loſs of private Mens Revenues, may raiſe above fifty in the Hundred in the *Quantity* vended to the Benefit of the Publick. For when Cloth is dear, other Nations do preſently practiſe Clothing. And we know that they want neither ART nor MATERIALS to this Performance. But when by Cheapneſs we drive them from this Employment, and ſo in time obtain our dear Price again, then do they alſo uſe their former Remedy. So that by theſe Alterations we learn, that it is in vain to expect a greater Revenue of our Wares, than their Condition will afford; but rather it concerns us to apply our Endeavours to the Times with Care and Diligence to help ourſelves the beſt we may, by making our Cloth and other Manufactures without Deceit, which will increaſe their Eſtimation and Uſe.

Other Nations want not the Art, nor the Materials.

Page 12. 3. I will here remember a notable Increaſe in our Manufacture of winding and twiſting only foreign raw Silk, which within thirty-five Years, to my Knowledge, did not employ more than three hundred People in the City and Suburbs of *London*; where at this preſent Time it doth ſet on Work above 14,000 Souls, as upon diligent Enquiry hath been reported unto his Majeſties Commiſſioners for Trade.

Page 70. 4. To ſay nothing of *Scotland*, there is exported, *communibus annis*, of our own native Commodities, for the Value of *Twenty-two hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling*, or ſomewhat more. †

CHAP.

ſiſted for any long Term, under ſuch a continual Exceſs of Importations beyond the Value of its Exports.

Moreover, *England* exporting ſo little comparatively of Woolen Goods, there was ſo much the more Wool exported; and that being done againſt the Law, clandeſtinely, though it came not into the Account of Exports, nevertheleſs it contributed to keep the Nation in Caſh.

†. *See* Chap. 43. *P. S.* Chap. 34. §. 9. Chap. 26. §. 4. Chap. 20. §. 6.

CHAP. XLVI.

Occurrences, and Acts of Parliament, 1664-6.

1. *A. D.* 1664. This Year, the *Dutch* War commenced, the Cauſes of which, tho' they were never fully known, every one underſtood it was a War occaſioned chiefly by a Jealouſy of Trade. *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 638.

2. *A. D.* 1665. The Plague raged dreadfully in *London*; in leſs than a Year it ſwept away, in that ſingle City, above 100,000 Perſons. Page 641.

3. The *French* King ſettled Mr. *Van Moſes Robay*, a foreign Proteſtant, at *Abbeville* in *Picardy*, and by his Lettets Patents granted to him and his Workmen the free Exercíſe of their Religion, and ſeveral other very conſiderable Privileges, which their Families enjoy to this Day. This Clothier fixed the Manufacture of all Sorts of *Spaniſh Cloth* in that City; and the King lent him by Agreement 2000 *Livres* for every Loom he ſet up, until he had 40 Looms at Work; ſo that he received 80,000 *Livres*. And at laſt it was found he had ſo well eſtabliſhed that Manufacture, that by degrees the Payment of the whole was remitted. *Britiſh Merchant*, vol. 2. p. 93--94.

4. *Thomas Tilham* of *Warwickſhire* prevailed with upwards of 2000 Men in this Kingdom to ſettle in the *Palatinate*, where they eſtabliſhed a Woolen Manufacture; which was greatly encouraged by that *Elector*. And after they were fixed, that Colony was joined by one *Skep* of *Herefordſhire*, and many others.* Page 397. Engliſh *Manufacturers go and ſettle in the* Palatinate.

5. *A. D.* 1666. In the Beginning of this Year, the King's Affairs were in an ill Situation. The King of *France* publiſhing a Declaration of War againſt *England*, in a Sea Engagement, the *Engliſh* loſt 23 great Ships; and ſoon after, a terrible Fire in *London* laid a great Part of the City in Aſhes. *No wonder, if all theſe together, added to the under Balance of Trade, gave an extraordi-* *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 641-3.

* Hence judge of the Truth of what Mr. *Mun* had aſſerted [b], the laſt Year, touching the Increaſe of the Woolen Manufacture and Woolen Trade in *England*.

[b] Ch. 45. §. 2.

nary Damp, ſo as reduce the Price of things extremely low. †

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† Hereupon followed, *An Act againſt Importing Cattle from* Ireland, 18 *Car.* II. c. 2. 'This Act prohibits abſolutely the Importation from thence, at all Times, of 'Cattle, dead or alive, Sheep or Swine, Beef, Pork, or 'Bacon, upon Pain of Forfeiture of one Half to the Uſe of 'the Seizer and Informer; the other Half to the Poor of 'the Pariſh, where the ſame ſhould be found or ſeized.' *And this I take to have been as much in the Extreme, one way,* [c] Ch. 44. §. 10. *Note.* *as that of the* 15*th of this Reign,* c. 7.[c] *was, another; and that the Community was hurt by both of them; and that there is a proper Medium, in this Caſe, that ſhould have been obſerved, and which, even now, would be of great Utility.*

The Act 15 Car. II. c. 7. *amounting, in effect, to a Prohibition, except in the Spring Quarter, when alſo the* Engliſh Breeders *wanted to diſpoſe of theirs to the Graſiers, for Payment of Rents, and to make room for their growing Stock; the Conſequence, we may eaſily imagine, was, that They were brought, in that ſame Quarter, from* Scotland *and* Ireland *both, in much larger Quantities than at the ſame Times heretofore; That the Spring Markets of* England, *by this means, were filled to ſuch a degree as to hurt the* Engliſh *Breeders extremely. Conſequently there is no doubt but that the mere Graſier found ſome Account in it, and would have had extraordinary and unreaſonable Gain, had not the then calamitous Circumſtances of the Nation rendered even the Price of fat Meat below Envy. But this, as well as lean Cattle, advancing afterwards, (the former, as ſome have ſaid, a Half-penny* per *Pound) it was imputed falſely, in my Opinion, to the Prohibition of* Iriſh *Cattle, the Importation whereof this Act ſtigmatizes as a* Nuſance. *Tho' I apprehend it only to have been made ſo chiefly by* 15 Car. II. c. 7. *for the Reaſons that have been mentioned; and that if the* Importation *of Cattle, as before allowed, had been continued, much Hurt ſuſtained by this* 18 Car. II. c. 2. *had been ſaved, and the* Engliſh *Breeder nothing damnified. For thoſe Cattle being imported at all Times of the Year, when the Seaſon admitted, the Occupiers of thoſe Lands, which, as the Law now ſtands, are moſt proper for breeding, might have come in for an equal Share of Advantage both with the Feeder and Conſumer, by buying and keeping them for ſome Time, inſtead of breeding. For if the Lands accounted proper for breeding,* i. e. *becauſe they will not feed, are depaſtured with young and lean Stock, and the Winter Fodder proper for ſuch Cattle is ſo conſumed, it does not ſignify where thoſe Cattle are bred, provided they*

are

are bought upon fair and equal Terms. As to this Act, there is not any one in the Statute Book, *which has been more univerſally condemned, or leſs defended. That it is not repealed,*

Stat pro Ratione Voluntas!

Nevertheleſs, if the Importation of Iriſh *Cattle was any thing of a Nuſance, before the Statute* 15 Car. II. *that was the Effect of two* Iriſh Statutes[d], *as one Extreme will naturally produce another.*

[d] 11 & 13 *Eliz. Iriſh* Statutes.

11 *Eliz.* Seſſ. 3. c. 10. 'Whoever ſhall put or load into any Boat or Veſſel, any Wool, Flocks, Flax, Linen Yarn, Woolen Yarn, Sheep-fell, Calf-fell, Goat-fell, red Deer-fell, or Fallow Deer-fell unwrought, Beef, Tallow, Wax or Butter, to the Intent to carry the ſame out of this Realm, ſhall pay to the Queen, her Heirs and Succeſſors, for every ſuch Stone of Wool and Flocks, 5 *s.*[e] Sterling; every Pound of Flax, Linen and Woolen Yarn, 12 *d.* every Sheep-fell, Calf-fell, and Goat-fell, 4 *d.*; every Red Deer-fell, 2 *s.* 4 *d.*; and every Fallow Deer-fell, 20 *d.*; and for every Pound of Beef uncaſked, or put into other Veſſels than is contained in this Act, 1 *d.*; and for every Firkin of Beef, 5 *s.*; and for every half Barrel, 13 *s.* 4 *d.*; and every Barrel, 20 *s.*; every Hogſhhead, 40 *s.*; and for every Pipe of Beef, 4 *l.*; and for every ſuch Stone of Tallow, 2 *s.*; for every ſuch Pound of Wax, 12 *d.* and for every ſuch Pound of Butter, 6 *d.*

[e] *Duty for Wool,* 5 s. *a Stone.*

'Alſo by way of Cuſtom to every ſuch City or Corporate Town, whence ſuch Things before-mentioned are to be tranſported, for every ſuch Stone of Wool and Flocks, 4 *s.* current Money of *England*; every Pound of Flax, Linen or Woolen Yarn, 8 *d.*; every Sheep-fell, Calf-fell, and Goat-fell, 3 *d.*; every Red Deer-fell, 20 *d.*; every Fallow Deer-fell, 18 *d.*; every Pound of Beef uncaſked, &c. 1 *d.*; every Firkin of Beef, 4 *s.*; every half Barrel, 6 *s.* 8 *d.*; every Barrel, 13 *s.* 4 *d.*; every Hogſhead, 26 *s.* 8 *d.*; every Pipe, 3 *l.*; every Stone of Tallow, 18 *d.*; every Pound of Wax, 6 *d.*; and every Pound of Butter, 4 *d.*

Cuſtom for Wool, 4 s.

'And alſo to forfeit the like Sum for every of the ſaid Commodities as are before-mentioned payable to the Queen, over and above the Queen's Money, and the other Cuſtoms.'

Forfeiture for Wool, 5 s. *Tot.* 14 s. per *Stone.*

13 *Eliz.* Seſſ. 5. c. 4. 'The ſhipping any of the Goods above-mentioned, in any Port, &c. before Entry made, and Duty and Cuſtoms paid as aforeſaid, ſhall be deemed Felony, &c.'

As theſe two Acts amounted to a ſtrict Prohibition in all theſe ſeveral Articles of the Iriſh *Produce; conſidering them as Acts of that Kingdom, 'tis difficult to ſay, upon what Poli-*

cies

cies they were founded. If it was intended by these Acts to incline the People of Ireland *to Industry and Manufacture, those Acts having not sufficiently produced that Effect, the People naturally depastured their Lands chiefly with horned Cattle; and for these having no Vent but in* England, *'tis no wonder that the* Englisſh *Markets were very much filled with the same. But how did the Prohibition mend the Matter? The People of that Country being driven from this their wonted Course, turned their Thoughts to* the breeding of Sheep; *which produced, what has since been accounted a double* Nuſance, *a foreign Trade in Wool, and Woolen Manufacture; which no Laws hitherto have been sufficient to prevent. Nor is it possible, but that the Plenty of* Ireland *must, in Appearance at least, rival the* Englisſh *Produce, in some Shape or another. And therefore, was it really the Interest of* England, *that* Ireland *should have remained without Improvement; nothing could have answered that End so effectually, as to have continued them in a State of breeding black Cattle for the* Englisſh *Feeders* [t].

[t] Ch. 59. §. 2.

But tho' another Opinion seems now to gain Ground, which, I think, is nearer to Truth and good Policy, viz. *that Improvements in* Ireland *are no real Impoverishment to* England, *but the Reverse; yet as an absolute Restraint on* Ireland, *in any one Instance, is, in effect,* either no Restraint at all, *or else is only productive of the* greater Exceſs *in some other; it were better, in my Opinion, there should be* no ſuch abſolute Prohibition, *but that, in the main,* Ireland *should be considered, with* Great Britain, as one and the ſame. *By which means,* Ireland *not being forced particularly into any one Way of Life, rather than another, that Exceſs would be avoided, in any one Particular, which otherwiſe is apt to grow into a* Nuſance, *and instead thereof, a Mediocrity preſerved in all things.*

* An Act for burying in Woolen. 18 *Car.* II. c. 4.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

A new * *Diſcourſe of Trade*, &c. *By Sir* Joſiah Child.

1. THERE is an inſeparable Affinity between *Land* and *Trade*. They are Twins, and have always, and will ever waxe and wane together. It cannot be ill with Trade, but Land will fall; nor ill with Land, but Trade will feel it. *Preface*, p. 19.

2. Trades loſt to this Kingdom are, 1. The *Ruſſia* Trade, where the *Dutch* had, the foregoing Year, 22 Sail of great Ships, and the *Engliſh* but one. 2. The *Greenland* Trade, where the *Dutch* and *Hamburghers* have yearly at leaſt four or five hundred Sail of Ships, and the *Engliſh*, but one, the laſt Year, and none, the former. 3. The great Trade of Salt from St. *Vuats* in *Portugal*, and from *France*, with Salt, Wine and Brandy to the *Eaſtlands*. 4. All that vaſt Trade of fiſhing for white Herrings upon our Coaſt. 5. The *Eaſt Country* Trade, in which we have not half ſo much to do as we had formerly, and the *Dutch* ten times more than they had in Times paſt. 6. A very great Part of our Trade for *Spaniſh* Wools from *Bilboa*. 7. The *Eaſt-India* Trade for Spices. 8. The Trades of *Scotland* and *Ireland* are loſt to the *Dutch*. 9. The Trade to *Norway* is in great part loſt. 10. A very great Part of the *French* Trade, by reaſon of great Impoſitions laid there upon our Draperies. 11. A great Part of the Plate Trade to *Cadiz* is loſt to the *Dutch*. 12. The Trade of *Surinham* alſo, ſince the *Dutch* got Poſſeſſion of that Country. 13. The Trade to *Menades*. 14. The *Engliſh* Trade to *Guinea*. Moſt of the forementioned are the greateſt Trades in the World, for the Employment of Shipping and Seamen. Page 20.

3. The

* *A new Diſcourſe*, &c. *i. e.* new Opinions concerning Trade, as ſee Chap. 48. §. 6—14.

As it is the fourth Edition of this Book, from which I tranſcribe, I cannot exactly ſay when it was firſt printed, tho' as near as may be judged from Circumſtances, it was in the Year 1667.

3. The Trades we retain are, 1. The Fiſh Trade of red Herrings at *Yarmouth*, &c. 2. A good Share of the *Turkey*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh* and *Portugal* Trades. 2. Our Trades to, and from, our own Plantations. As to the *Turkey*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh* and *Portugal* Trades, though our Vent for fine Cloths, and ſome ſort of Stuffs be declined, yet we retain a conſiderable Part, for this Reaſon, among others, *viz.* becauſe the Wool of which our middling coarſe Cloths are made, is our own *, and conſequently cheaper to us, than the *Dutch* can ſteal it from us. The Navigation Act has ſecured to us our Trade to our Plantations; but otherwiſe, with Shame to ourſelves it may be truly ſaid of us, as we proverbially ſay to careleſs Perſons, they have loſt all that is looſe.

Diſcourſe, p. 3. 4. The Attempts which our Foreſathers made for regulating of Manufactures, when left to the Execution of ſome particular Perſon, in a ſhort time reſolved but into a Tax upon the Commodity, without reſpect unto the Goodneſs of it, as moſt notoriouſly appears in the Buſineſs of the AULNAGE, which doubtleſs our Predeceſſors intended for a Scrutiny into the Goodneſs of the Commodity; and to that Purpoſe a Seal was invented, as a Signal that the Commodity was made according to the Statutes, which Seals, it is ſaid, may now be bought by Thouſands, and put upon what the Buyers pleaſe.

Page 110. 5. It has for many Years been a moote Caſe, whether any incorporating of Merchants be for publick Good. It is queſtionable with me, whether any other Company of Merchants, beſides thoſe of *Eaſt-India* or *Guinea*, be for publick Good or Hurt. However, I conclude that all Reſtrictions of Trade are naught.

Page 125. 6. Here, by the way, give me leave to query, whether inſtead of the late Prohibition of *Iriſh* Cattle, it would not have been more for the Benefit of this Kingdom

* This Wool which is thus called *our own*, is, originally, the diſtinct Property of the *Engliſh Grower only*; and if he is obliged to ſell it to one Perſon, for leſs than another would willingly give for it, does not ſuch Perſon ſell his Wool, neceſſarily, for leſs than a Market Price? *I only put the Queſtion here; if it is anſwered in the Affirmative, as I think it muſt be, the Equity and Expediency of ſuch a Compulſion will be conſidered hereafter, all Circumſtances alledged in this Caſe, being firſt examined and weighed.*

dom of *England* to ſuffer the *Iriſh* to bring into *England*, not only their live Cattle, but alſo all other Commodities of the Growth or Manufacture of that Kingdom, Cuſtom free, or on eaſy Terms; and to prohibit them from trading homeward or outward with the *Dutch*, or our own Plantations, or any other Places except the Kingdom of *England*? Moſt certainly ſuch a Law would moſt wonderfully increaſe the Trade, Shipping, and Riches of this Nation. Would not this be a Means effectually to prevent the Exportation of *Iriſh* Wool, which now goes frequently into *France* and *Holland*? *

7. *France* lays an Impoſition of 50 or 60 *per Cent.* upon our Drapery. The *Swediſh* Laws amount to a Prohibition of the *Engliſh* from ſending their own Manufactures to *Sweden* in *Engliſh* Shipping. As to Drapery and other *Engliſh* Goods, the King of *Denmark*'s Country conſumes little, and that charged with about 30 or 40 *per Cent.* Page 132. 133.

CHAP.

* Sir *Joſiah Child* recommends it here, to have *Ireland* put much upon the ſame Foot, with regard to *England*, as the *Engliſh* Colonies, or foreign Plantations, *i. e.* to make *England* the Center of all the *Iriſh* Commerce. This is the common Policy of all Nations, in reſpect to their own Colonies. Inſtead of which, it is remarkable, that while *England* affects to treat *Ireland* as a Colony, it purſues a direct contrary Policy, in ſome Inſtances, to what is commonly practiſed in that Caſe; by rather forcing *Ireland* into a foreign Trade, than permitting her to have a free Intercourſe with *England* for a principal Part of her Produce, and ſome Manufacture. Now tho' all which Sir *Joſiah* has here recommended, is not perhaps practicable, or what the People of *Ireland* would ſubmit to, as not thinking themſelves altogether upon the Foot of a Colony: And tho' nothing would effectually prevent the Exportation of *Iriſh* Wool to *France*, &c. but what would be equally effectual for the ſame Purpoſe in *England*. Yet ſurely it would be better to uſe the moſt likely Means to invite and attract the Trade of *Ireland* towards *England*, as the proper Center, rather than to do that which has an immediate Tendency to provoke and drive the People of that Kingdom into a foreign Trade, and into ſuch Manufactures at Home, as they would be apt to purchaſe in a great meaſure from *England*, was the Prohibition of their Cattle taken off, and their Woolen Manufacture permitted to paſs through *England* into foreign Parts, on equal Terms.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Sir Josiah Child, *of Wool, and Woolen Manufacture.*

1. THAT *Wool* is eminently the Foundation of the *English* Riches *, I have not heard denied by any; and that therefore all possible Means ought to be used

* Tho' every Sentence of this great Oracle in Trade carries with it no small Authority; it does not follow, that we are to give implicitly into any of his Opinions, without weighing and considering them maturely. I think it proper then to examine, how we are to understand what he here says concerning Wool, *viz.* '*That it is eminently the* '*Foundation of the* English *Riches*,' seeing this is a Matter whereof the Generality of the People of *England* have not formed so just an Idea, as to reason rightly and truly about it.

The *Wool* of *England* is, in effect, a considerable Part of the *Land* of *England*; and the LAND of *England* is, in a manner, ENGLAND ITSELF; of which the † Writers of Political Arithmetic, towards the Close of this Century, made the following Estimate.

† Mr. *King* and Dr. *Davenant.*

'The annual Income of *England*, of which the whole
'People live and subsist, and out of which Taxes of all
'kinds are paid, is now about —— £ 43,000,000
'The yearly Rent of Land —— 10,000,000
'The Value of Wool yearly shorn —— 2,000,000
'Of the Woolen Manufacture made here —— 8,000,000
'Of the Woolen Manufacture exported —— 2,000,000

☞ If this Estimate was near the Truth, when made, tho' the several *Quantities* are since increased; yet the *Proportions* continuing much the same, we may continue to argue from it. Hence then it appears, 1st. That the Rents of our Lands make almost one Fourth of the annual Expences of the Kingdom. 2. That the Wool of *England* is equal to one Fifth of the Rents of the Land, *i. e.* one Fifth of the whole Rents of the Land of *England* is paid by *Wool*. 3. That our Wool, with the Labour bestowed upon it in Manufacture, makes nearly one *Fifth* of the annual Income of *England*, on which the whole People live, and out of which

uſed to keep it within our own Kingdom, is generally confeſſed; and to this Purpoſe moſt of our modern

which Taxes of all kinds are paid. 4. That about one *Fourth* of the Woolen Manufacture is exported to foreign Markets, (of which our own Plantations are not the leaſt) which $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Woolen Manufacture is not quite $\frac{1}{12}$ of the whole annual Income of the Nation, on which the whole People live, and out of whoſe Expences or Conſumption, Taxes of all kinds are paid for the Support of Government. And yet we ſhall frequently find Perſons reaſoning, as if 19 Parts, in 20, of the annual Expences of *England*, were from the exported Woolen Manufactures. I myſelf once aſked a Perſon in Trade, what Proportion he thought our Home Conſumption of Woolen Goods bore to our Exports of the ſame. To which he anſwered, 'That he thought *we* did 'export at leaſt *Thirty times* as much in Value, as we uſed.' Nor was I ſurprized at his Anſwer, conſidering in what Terms Men have accuſtomed themſelves to talk and write upon the Subject; as if we did, or might, clothe the whole World with Woolen Manufacture; as if the Nation ſubſiſted almoſt entirely by what Woolen Manufactures we did export; that therefore the Perſons employed in that Manufacture, were to be reputed as the chief *Guardian Angels* of the Commonwealth, and as ſuch entitled to give Laws to the *Landed Intereſt*, and all other their Fellow-Subjects. When, lo! according to this Eſtimate of political Arithmeticians, *three Fourths* of the Woolen Manufacturers are as much employed and maintained by the *Landed Intereſt*, and others the good People of *England*, as all other Labourers whatſoever; and conſequently a *Weaver*, conſidered merely as ſuch, has no better Claim to the peculiar Regards of the People, than a *Taylor* or a *Shoe-maker*. (They are all ſerviceable in their Way.) Not only ſo, but we ſee from this, that all juſt Means for raiſing the Price of Wool are allowable, as being not only immediately beneficial to the *Landed Intereſt*, but (contrary to what many have taught) ultimately advantageous to the Bulk of Manufacturers themſelves; foraſmuch as $\frac{3}{4}$ of their Employment and Wages proceeds from their Cuſtomers *at Home*, the *Land-Owners*, and *their Dependants*.

Nevertheleſs, it will not be denied, that Wool and Woolen Manufacture is ſo far forth *the Foundation of the* Engliſh *Riches*, even by this Eſtimate, as to the Amount of £ 8,000,000 *per Annum*. And the Manufacture itſelf being equal to ſix Millions a Year, it ſaves four Millions or more within the Kingdom, that otherwiſe would be paid to foreign

dern * Parliaments have ſtrenuouſly endeavoured the contriving of ſevere Laws to prevent its Exportation; and the laſt Act made it Felony. Notwithſtanding which, we ſee that *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Wool goes over ſo plentifully, that it is within a very ſmall matter as cheap in *Holland* as in *England*.

2. The Means to prevent this Evil by additional penal Laws, and Alterations of ſome of thoſe now in being, were long under Debate, by his Majeſties Command, in the Council of Trade; who, according to their Duty, took great Pains therein; and ſince, I have been informed, the ſame things were under Conſideration in Parliament; ſo that I doubt not but in due time, we ſhall ſee more effectual Laws enacted to this Purpoſe, as well in relation to *Ireland*, (from whence the greateſt of this Miſchief proceeds) as in *England*, than ever yet has been; yet I do uttetly deſpair of ever ſeeing this Diſeaſe perfectly cured, till the Cauſes of it be removed; which I take to be, 1. High Intereſt of Money. 2. Want of Hands,

reign Labour; and the Value of *two* Millions a Year exported in Wool and Labour, is as ſo much Silver brought into the Kingdom, or inſtead of ſo much being carried out of it for foreign Commodities. Notwithſtanding all which, according to the Rules of Policy laid down by the *Britiſh* Merchant [b], *our Market at Home, as the firſt and beſt, is to be principally regarded*; and therefore the Conſequence Sir *Joſiah* has drawn, for prohibiting abſolutely (as I conceive he meant) the Exportation of Wool (*eſpecially if that is a Means to lower the Price of it*) does not ſo directly follow, as (he truly ſays) is generally confeſſed; becauſe that general Confeſſion, or Belief, ſtands upon the Suppoſition of many things for true, which, in Fact, are not ſo.

[b] *Britiſh Merchant*, p. 166--7.

* This is not quite ingenuouſly expreſſed. The Exportation of Wool was firſt forbid in ſeeming good earneſt, but about 20 Years before, by an imperfect Legiſlature, *viz.* in 1647, which yet the Executive Power did not think fit to adhere to, in the moſt ſettled Times of the Uſurpation. However, the Prohibition was legally enacted, about ſeven Years before this, and the Penalty very ſoon after made Felony. And theſe were all the Laws that had hitherto paſſed concerning that Matter.

Hands, which an Act of Naturalization would cure. 3. Compulsion in Matters of Religion.*

3. For while our Neighbours † have Money at lower Interest, and more Hands by reason of a general Liberty of Conscience, with other free Privileges both to Natives and Foreigners, there is no question but they will be able to give a better Price for our Wool, than we can afford ourselves. And they that can give the best Price for a Commodity *shall never fail to have it by one means or other, notwithstanding the Opposition of any Laws by Sea or Land; of such* FORCE, SUBTILTY *and* VIOLENCE, *is the general Course of* TRADE. ‖

Q 4. *Obj.*

* The Rate of Interest has been reduced. Strangers have been entertained in the Kingdom at several times. A Toleration is enjoyed: But the Runnage of Wool has not been discontinued; nay, if Writers are to be credited, it has increased upon us. But that I don't think to be the Case. As our Woolen Trade was never less, from before the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, than in some Part at least of this Reign; nor ever, since, so little; consequently our Exportations of raw Wool have not been greater, nor probably so great, at any time since, as in some Parts of the Reign of *Charles* II. But the Clamours and Complaints of certain Persons, on that Head, have not, for that Reason, abated in the least, but very much the contrary.

† Meaning the *Dutch*.

‖ This is a very wise and just Observation: a Truth that will hold everlastingly, so long as Men and Things retain their Nature. Accordingly, I lay my Finger upon it, as an unvariable, infallible Rule, for trying almost every Project, which can be offered for *preventing the Runnage of Wool*. And hence it follows necessarily, *that whatever tends to lower the Price of* Wool *in* England, (a Registry excepted) *tends at the same time to promote the Exportation of it. Now I shall be able to shew*[1], *that a principal Cause of Wool being, first of all,* absolutely prohibited to be exported, *was the then Dearness of that Commodity; that therefore the Design of the first Act of this kind (however disguised, to make it palatable) was,* to lower the Price of Wool. —— *That the said Act had so far its intended Effect;* —— *That the subsequent Laws of the same kind, neither* do, *nor* can *answer any other End to the Woolen-Exportation Trade, but what they do effect by keeping the Price of Wool in* England *below its natural Value. And tho' to do this, is undoubtedly an Advantage,*

[1] Ch. 56. §. 12, 16.

4. *Obj.* But ſome may ſay, and take it from what I have written elſewhere, as alſo from their own Obſervations, Will not the well making our Woolen Manufactures contribute much to the keeping our Wool naturally within our own Kingdom? I anſwer, Doubtleſs, it will have a great Tendency thereto; but can never effect it, 'till the aforeſaid radical Cauſes of this Diſeaſe be removed. Which brings me to the next Queſtion, *viz.*

5. What will improve our Manufactures in Quality and Quantity? This is a very great Queſtion, and requires a very deliberate and ſerious Conſideration; but I ſhall write my preſent Thoughts concerning it; deſiring thoſe Gentlemens Pardon, from whom I may differ in Opinion; having this to ſay for myſelf, that I do it not raſhly, this being a Buſineſs that I have many Years conſidered of; and that not ſolitarily, but upon converſing with the moſt skilful Men in our ſeveral Woolen Manufactures.

6. *Firſt*, then, I ſay thoſe three forementioned Particulars, (*Low Intereſt*, *Naturalization of Strangers*, *Liberty of Conſcience*) which will naturally keep our Wool at Home, will as naturally increaſe our Woolen Manufactures. 2. Negatively, I think very few of our Laws to this Purpoſe (though our Statute Books are repleniſhed with many) have any Tendency to it, nor any thing I have yet ſeen in Print.

7. For, 1*ſt*, All our Laws relating to the *Aulnager*'s Duty, every body knows, ſignify nothing to the Increaſe or well making of our Manufactures, but are rather prejudicial.

8. 2*dly*, All our Laws that oblige our People to the making of ſtrong, ſubſtantial (and as we call it, loyal) Cloth, of a certain Length, Breadth, and Weight, if they were duely put in Execution, would, in my Opinion, do more hurt than good, becauſe the Humours and Faſhions of the World change; and at ſome Times, in ſome Places (as now in moſt) ſlight, cheap, light Cloth, will ſell more plentifully and better than that which is heavier, ſtronger, and truer wrought; and if we

vantage, in the Nature of a Premium, *to the* Exporter of Woolen Goods; *yet at the ſame time it affords equally a* Premium *for the* Runnage of Wool.

we intend to have the Trade of the World, we muſt imitate the *Dutch*, who make the worſt as well as the beſt of all Manufactures, that we may be in a Capacity of ſerving all Markets, and all Humours.

9. 3*dly*, I conclude all our Laws limiting the Number of Looms numbered, or kind of Servants, or Times of working, to be certainly prejudicial to the Clothing Trade of the Kingdom in general, though they may be advantageous to ſome particular Men or Places, who firſt procured thoſe Laws of Reſtriction and Limitation.

10. I think all thoſe Laws are prejudicial, that prohibit a Weaver from being a Fuller, Tucker or Dyer, or a Fuller or Tucker [b] from keeping a Loom.

[b] Ch. 18. §. 5. *Note.*

11. I conclude, that ſtretching a Cloth by Tenters, though it be ſometimes prejudicial to the Cloth, is yet abſolutely neceſſary to the Trade of *England*; and that the Exceſs of ſtraining cannot be certainly limited by a Law, but muſt be left to the Seller's or Exporter's Diſcretion, who beſt knows what will pleaſe his Cuſtomers beyond the Seas; beſides, if we ſhould wholly prohibit the ſtraining of Cloth, the *Dutch* (as they often have done) would buy our unſtrained Cloth, and carry it into *Holland*, and there ſtrain it to ſix or ſeven Yards *per Piece* more in Length, and make it look a little better to the Eye, and after that carry it abroad to *Turkey*, and other Markets, and there beat us out of Trade with our own Weapons.

12. But ſome may then ask me, Whether I think it would be for the Advantage of the Trade of *England*, to leave all Men at Liberty to make what Cloth and Stuffs they pleaſe, how they will, where, and when they will, of any Length or Sizes?

I anſwer, Yes, certainly in my Judgment it would be ſo, except ſuch Species only, as his Majeſty and the Parliament ſhall think fit to make Staples; as ſuppoſe, *Colcheſter* Bayes, Perpetuanoes, Cheanyes, and ſome other ſorts of *Norwich* Stuffs, to be allowed the Honour of a publick Seal, by which to be bought and ſold here, and beyond Seas; as if it were upon the publick Faith of *England*; and where-ever ſuch Seal is affixed to any Commodity, I would deſire the Commodity ſhould be exactly made according to the Inſtitution, and always kept to its certain Length, Breadth, and Goodneſs. But in caſe any ſhall make of the ſaid Commodities worſe

than the Inſtitution, I think it ſhould be moſt for the publick Advantage, to impoſe no Penalty upon them, but only deny them the Benefit and Reputation of the publick Seal, to ſuch Bayes or Stuffs as ſhall be ſo inſufficient; which, in my Opinion, would be Puniſhment enough to thoſe that ſhould make worſe than the Standard, and Advantage enough to thoſe that ſhould keep up to it.

13. For all Cloths and Stuffs not being made Staples, I think it would be of very great Uſe, that the Makers did weave in their Marks, and affix their own Seals, containing the Length and Breadth of the Pieces, (as has been provided in ſome Statutes) and that no Maker, under ſevere Penalties, ſhall uſe another Perſon's Mark or Seal; with ſuch Penalty to every Maker or Seller, whoſe Cloth or Stuffs ſhall not contain the Length and Breadth ſet upon the Seal, as his Majeſty and the Parliament ſhall think fit.

14. If the Makers of all Stuffs whatſoever for Exportation, whether Staples or not, (which are commonly ſold by the Piece, and not by the Yard or Ell) were obliged to make them no ſhorter than anciently they have been made; the particular Lengths of each Sort of which might be provided for and expreſſed in the Act, this good Effect would follow from it, *viz.* at all foreign Markets, where we pay a great Cuſtom by the Piece, according to the Book of Rates, current in the ſeveral Countries, we ſhould pay but the ſame Cuſtom abroad for a Piece of full Length, which now we do for one that is ſhorter; notwithſtanding, I conceive it would be expedient to leave it to the Maker's Diſcretion, to make their Pieces as much longer as they pleaſe.

CHAP. XLIX.

Occurrences, 1667--70.

Britiſh Merchant, vol. 3. p. 279-80.

1. *A. D.* 1667, *May* 23. was ſigned a Treaty of Commerce with *Spain*; concerning which, Sir *W. Godolphin*, who was Secretary to the *Engliſh* Embaſſy,

baſſy, and who was the chief Contriver of that Treaty, wrote thus to my Lord *Arlington*: 'The Treaty of 'Commerce, I dare promiſe your Lordſhip, compre- 'hends not only all the Privileges and Advantages, which 'this Crown hath ever granted to any other State or 'People, but likewiſe ſome Conveniences, which it hath 'never yet permitted to any other; for the better Secu- 'rity whereof, I have diligently peruſed all the Treaties 'theſe People have made with others, and all the royal 'Cedula's they have granted in Favour of any particu- 'lar Factories, and have not received from our Facto- 'ries any Grievance or Propoſition of Advantage in 'their Commerce, to be either remedied or procured 'for them, which we think is not ſufficiently provided 'for in this Treaty.'

In another Letter, to his Brother, *May* 25. he ſays, 'I will only ſay to you in general of the Treaty of 'Commerce, that beſides all the Freedom and Advan- 'tages of Trade, which this Crown hath granted to 'any other State, we have thereby ſeveral Conceſſions 'and Conveniences, whereof we find no Example in 'their Articles with any other. And I think they have 'not made any other theſe hundred Years, which I have 'not learned as my Leſſon, in order to the treating and 'Perfection of this.'

2. *A. D.* 1668. One *Brewer* (whoſe Parents were ſaid to be *Engliſh*) with about fifty *Walloons*, who wrought and dyed fine Woolen Cloths, came into *England*; and the King, after the Example of two of his wiſeſt and moſt renowned Predeceſſors, entertained them; and by them were the *Engliſh* inſtructed to make and dye fine Woolen Cloths cheaper by 40 *per Cent.* than they could do before; not only to the Benefit of the *Engliſh* at home, but in foreign Vent abroad; which before the *Dutch* had.* *Coke*, vol. 2. p. 169.

* *An additional Act againſt the Importation of* Iriſh *Cattle.* 20 Car. II. c. 7.

A. D. 1668-9. Exports to all the World from *England* were £ 2,063,274 19 9
Imports the ſame Year £ 4,196,139 17 0
They exceed the Exports £ 2,132,864 18 0

Britiſh Merchant, vol. 2. p. 334.

(*See* Ch. 43. *P. S.* Ch. 27. §. 7. *Note.* Ch. 26. §. 4.

1672-3. 3. *A. D.* 1670.* The Parliament meeting *October* 24, the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* ſpoke of the 'many advantageous Alliances the King had made, both for Security and Profit of Trade, with the *Swede*, *Dane*, *Spaniard*, and Duke of *Savoy*.' But whatever Treaties of Commerce were made with other Princes, the Keeper finds none with *France*, where neither the advantageous Treaty made by *Oliver* was obſerved, nor any new one made; but the *French* King did uſe the *Engliſh* with all imaginable Oppreſſions.

CHAP. L.

England's Intereſt by Trade aſſerted, wherein is diſcovered, that many hundred thouſand Pounds might be gained to the Kingdom by the due Improvement of the Product thereof, more particularly by WOOL; *and the evil Conſequences of its Exportation, unmanufactured.*

By W. C. *a Servant to his King and Country. The Second Impreſſion.* London, 1671.

Preface. 1. SOME *Letters.*

LISLE, *March* 16. 1669.

'We have a miſerable Tariff lately come forth, that 'taxes *Serges* at 25 Florins *per* 100 Weight, *Cloth* at '40; *Cottons*, *Ruſſets*, *Kerſies* at 10 Florins *per* 100 'Weight. The *French* ſhew little Reſpect to the King 'of *England* in this. The Miſery is, the great Quan'tity of Wool that is ſtolen out from *England* into '*France*; which makes them audacious; and at the '*Burreau*, they will tell you downright, that the 'Woolen Fabricks of *England* are altogether unneceſ-'ſary

* *A. D.* 1670. A *Levant* Company was eſtabliſhed in *France*.

'fary in his Majeſty's of *France*'s Dominions; becauſe, 'they ſay, they can make as good or better themſelves. 'But if they had not *our Wool*, they would not ſay ſo. 'Thus we *Engliſh* have our Throats cut with our own 'Weapons; and I wonder there is no one in *England* 'ſenſible of this grand Evil, as to demonſtrate it to his 'Majeſty and Council in *England*. In time, Strangers 'will not care Two-pence for our *Engliſh* Woolen Ma-'nufactures. *Holland* draws from *Ireland* whole Ships 'Loading of Wool, beſides what comes from *England*, 'being ſtolen from the *Kentiſh*, *Eſſex* and *Suſſex* Coaſts, 'into *France*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Flanders*. *Dover* 'and *Canterbury* being the only Neſt to harbour ſuch 'Night Rogues.'

2. LISLE, 26 *April*, 1670.

'The *French* are now got into a Way of making a 'low priced Sort of Cloth, called *Searge de Berry*, 'which comes as cheap as our *Northern Cloth*, and of 'much better Wool; it is about five Quarters wide; 'they have ſo much, they have clothed a great Number 'of their Soldiers with it; and now the King of *France* 'hath lately made an Order, to enjoin the Fabrickers to 'make it of the ſame Breadth as *Engliſh* Broad Cloth, '(ſo our low priced Cloth is like to come to nothing) '*and all made of* Engliſh *Wool*.' *

3. Theſe things conſidered, it's Matter of Lamentation, that we here in *England* ſhould be called upon from beyond Sea, to look to ourſelves, to preſerve our Trade. And whereas in the firſt Letter, the Gentleman wonders at the Stupidity of us in *England*, (and Cauſe there is to wonder) yet I think it requiſite to inſert what hath been done by remonſtrating to his Majeſty, and what his Majeſty hath done to prevent that Evil.

4. Firſt, there hath been before his Majeſty the Matter itſelf, *viz.* 1. The Quantity of Wool exported. 2. The Manner how. 3. The evil Conſequences thereof.

* There is much depending upon the Truth of this Aſſertion, that theſe *French Cloths* were all made of *Engliſh* Wool; for which ſee hereafter the *Dictionaire Univerſel du Commerce*. (Chap. 151—167.

5. In *October* 67, being in *Rumney* Marſh in *Kent*, where I uſed to buy Wool, and miſſing near 1500 Packs in a ſhort time, and was credibly informed that in one Night there were twelve Shallops loaden with Wool, I did obſerve the Motion of thoſe Men, and cauſed a Parcel of Wool to be ſeized, that was going at Night to be ſhipped on board a *French* Shallop.

6. Next, I came up to *London*, leaving my own private Concerns, to acquaint the Parliament; which, upon the Petition I preſented, ordered the Buſineſs to be conſidered by a Committee; whereupon enſued an * Addreſs to his Majeſty to *wear*, and encourage the *wearing* of the *Engliſh* Manufacture; alſo for an Impoſt on *French* Linen.

7. After the Adjournment of the Parliament, I petitioned his Majeſty and Privy Council for a Party of Horſe to be in *Kent* by the Sea-ſide, and ſome Frigots to be at Sea; which granted, I attending ſometimes at Sea, ſometimes at Land, did prevent near a thouſand Packs of Wool from being tranſported that Summer.

8. In *September* 68, the Parliament not coming together to perfect a Bill depending [*for an Impoſt on* French *Linen*] ſeveral Propoſals were made to his Majeſty in Council, and thoſe referred to a ſelect Council of Trade, with theſe Injunctions from the King: 'You 'are very ſtrictly to enquire, by what Ways and Practices the Wool of this Kingdom comes to be ſent away 'into foreign Parts, what Places, *&c.* are moſt ſuſpected 'in *England*, and elſewhere, *&c.*' Which Council returned their Opinion, that 'tho' there was ſome Defects 'in the Law, yet the principal Cauſe was, the want of 'Execution;' and therefore they deſired that the Care of that Buſineſs ſhould be recommended to the Preſident and Governours of *Chriſt's Hoſpital*.

9. The 2d of *April* 69, his Majeſty did order a Commiſſion, under the great Seal, accordingly; but ſome Objections being in the way, principally the want of Money, they did not enter upon it. This Commiſſion I procured upon my own Coſt and Charge.

10. About

* The Reſult of this Conſultation is well worth Notice, as pointing to the beſt Means of Redreſs for the Grievance then complained of.

10. About *Auguſt* 69, I petitioned his Majeſty for ſomething to be done in *Ireland*; and a Letter was written to the Lord Lieutenant; which had this Effect, that in ſix Weeks time, there was landed in *Minehead* near 1000 Packs of Wool more, than in ſome Years before; and the like in *Cheſter* and *Liverpool* proportionably, as I was credibly informed; there being ſuch Quantities before exported beyond Sea, as was aſſerted in the Houſe of Commons to be no leſs than *One hundred thouſand Packs.*

11. Immediately after, I procured the Diſcovery of five Veſſels that went into *Calice* in *France*, laden with Wool, and all in two Days time; by which ſaid Diſcovery, following it, there hath been near 100 Perſons found guilty, eight or ten Veſſels taken, and about 140 Bags of Wool, (being intended for Tranſportation) ſeized and condemned: all this in *Kent*, beſides ſome ſmall Parcels in ſome other Places: And had not the Officers (at leaſt one Man) compounded with all the famous Tranſporters of Wool in *Kent*, and thereby prevented me in proſecuting the ſaid Tranſporters, and redelivered theſe Boats that were ſeized and condemned, I had done very much, if not altogether deſtroyed that evil Practice, at leaſt in *Kent:* For about *October*, *November*, *December*, and *January* 1669, there was ſuch a Stop put upon it by that Diſcovery I had made, and the Tranſporters were ſo affrighted, that there was no Wool, or very little, tranſported in thoſe Months. But as ſoon as the ſaid Officer, the Compounder General for *Kent* had critically got into his old Road, and compounded, as formerly, and offered Deputations to ſome of the grand Tranſporters (if they would have paid for it) the Tranſporters went on as furious as ever.

12. And now it is ſeaſonable to give ſome Touch of what was propounded in the Houſe of Commons, about permitting Wool to be tranſported from *Ireland*; taking it for granted that there was the Quantity exported, as above [c] ſpecified, I was informed that if Wool was ſuffered to be exported from *Ireland*, paying 2 *d.* or 3 *d. per Pound* Cuſtom, it would, firſt, make it ſo dear to Foreigners, that the *Engliſh* could underſell them in Manufactury. Secondly, It would raiſe a great Revenue to his Majeſty. Thirdly, It would be an Inducement to the Officers to look after the Cuſtom, and ſo leſs would go.

[c] §. 10.

go. This ſeemed to many wiſe, grave Senators, at firſt to be very ſeaſible, until I gave Anſwer to it, and that was thus.

13. As to 2*d.* or 3*d. per* Pound dearer, it ſignifies nothing. For if they enter ten Packs, there ſhall go off 100 * unentered. But grant it did all pay that Cuſtom there in *Ireland*, it pays no Cuſtom when imported into *Holland*, *Flanders*, or *France*; and then to conſider the Cuſtom that is paid here to his Majeſty upon our Woolen Manufacture, when exported, which is about five Pounds for a Pack of worſted Stuffs, &c. and it is ſuch Wool as is coveted; and that, as before, the *French* King laying ſuch an Impoſt upon our *Engliſh* Woolen Manufactures, of 20 or 30 *per Cent.* this over-balanceth by ten Parts the firſt Reaſon; and beſides the foreign Manufacturers working ſo much cheaper (as will be ſhewn) I humbly ſuppoſe is a ſufficient Anſwer to the firſt Reaſon of the Motion.

14. As to his Majeſties Revenue by 2*d.* or 3*d. per* Pound, the Anſwer is ſhort: The Cuſtom paid, as above, upon the Export of our Woolen Manufactures, is double that Cuſtom. But the Cuſtom upon the Importation of the Product thereof may amount to three times the Worth of the Pack of Wool.

15. As to the Officers Inducement, I ſhall anſwer in ſhort, by asking this ſingle Queſtion, Which in reaſon can be the greateſt Inducement †, 3*d. per* Pound Cuſtom, or

* Had this Writer argued, that in this way, more Wool would be carried beyond Sea in a legal public manner, than before was exported illegally and clandeſtinely; tho' his Poſition would not have admitted of Proof, yet could it not have been certainly contradicted. But to ſay that more Wool would be *run*, if allowed to be exported legally, at a moderate Duty, than when abſolutely prohibited, is to contradict all Experience, and the known Maxims of Policy in other Matters of the like Nature. It is in ſhort, to make a low Duty a ſtronger Temptation to ſmuggling than a high one, or than a Prohibition, which is tantamount to the higheſt. This is ſo plain in itſelf, that I ſhould have ſpared the Note, but that I remember to have met with the ſame Objection, on the like Occaſion, from an honourable Perſon now living.

† The Officers Inducement was out of the Caſe here, as being

or 3 *s. per* Pound Forfeiture, if ſhipped to be tranſported, which is now in Force, and recoverable? But there was more in the Bottom: For within a Day or two of the ſaid Motion, there was a noble * Lord did affirm in the

being neither more nor leſs, for the Duty propoſed, except as the Government might be ſuppoſed, for the ſake of the Duty, to keep a ſtricter Hand upon the Officers, whoſe Buſineſs it would be to watch it. But the Thing chiefly to be conſidered was, whether Perſons would rather chuſe to pay 3 *d.* a *lib.* Duty, than riſk 3 *s.* a *lib.* for the ſake of ſaving that 3 *d.* And the Anſwer is eaſy, That no Man in his Senſes would; becauſe if he was detected once in twelve times, he could be no Gainer by his Adventures. The Odds therefore would have been eleven to one againſt him, beſides the Chance of Diſgrace, and other Inconveniences.

But, whereas it will appear [d] that Wool has ſometimes been *run* for little more, if any thing, than 3 *d.* a Pound, that, we ſhall find, was under very different Circumſtances from what are here ſuppoſed. 1ſt, The Exportation of Wool being utterly prohibited, there was wanting an Alternative, or Choice, whether to pay 3 *d.* or to riſk 3 *s.* 2dly, Suppoſing ſuch Alternative, if in a legal Way, Wool might be exported at a Duty of 3 *d.* a Pound, the illegal Adventurer muſt ſtand the Riſk for leſs than 3 *d.* as, ſuppoſe, for 2 *d.* ½. 3dly, This utter Prohibition having ſunk the Price of *Engliſh* Wool in *England* (as we ſhall go near to ſhew) below its natural Value, *viz.* from 9 *d.* to 6 *d.* a Pound; by that means it came to paſs, that 3 *d.* a Pound was full 50 *per Cent.* Profit; which, tho' little in regard to the Penalties, was large in reſpect of the Capital employed in ſuch illicit Trade. But whenever the Price of *Engliſh* Wool in *England*, by taking off the Prohibition, (which is in the Nature of a Monopoly) ſhould raiſe the Market at Home, as, ſuppoſe, to 9 *d.* inſtead of 6 *d.* the Caſe would be greatly altered; inſomuch that the ſame Riſks, if at all, muſt be run for leſs than 30, as before, for 50 *per Cent.* which, it is conceived, is a Difference ſufficient to diſcourage all Traffic of that kind. How far an allowed Exportation of Wool at a Duty of 3 *d.* a Pound might be ſo ordered, as to comport with the Intereſt of the Nation in all other Regards, will be more diſtinctly conſidered hereafter; it is enough to obſerve in this place, that ſuch a Duty would prevent the *Runnage of Wool*; which is more than can be ſaid of a Prohibition, without a Regiſtry at leaſt.

[d] Ch. 178.

* Here, in the firſt Place, it may be juſtly doubted, whether any Lord did make a Declaration to this Effect.

2. Whe-

the Committee for Wool, that his Lordſhip was offered a hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling* to paſs an Act for the Tranſportation of Wool. And beſides, there is a Petition of many Years ſtanding, that within theſe few Months I had a View of, for combed Wool to go off upon the ſame Pretence as before, (*viz.* of a Duty *) alledging it is coarſe Wool, and not fit for the Clothier. It is true, that it is not fit for Cloth, but it is for Worſted Stuffs and Stockins, in which reſpect it is of equal, if not greater Conſequence than Clothing Wool. †

CHAP.

2. Whether the Matter of it was true, if he did. If the *French* had been diſpoſed to give ſo large a Bribe for ſuch a Purpoſe, they were too well acquainted at this Time with the Court and State of *England*, not to know where to apply it properly and effectually. For about this very Time it was, that the King of *England* himſelf became a Penſioner to the Court of *France* for not a larger Sum than 100,000*l.* yearly.

* This may ſuffice to ſhew, that the Nation had not been unanimous in preferring an abſolute Prohibition in this Caſe, to a limited Exportation of Wool, *i. e.* a Duty on Wool exported. The former had only took place ſince the Reſtoration, but, as we have ſeen, without the leaſt good Effect, and without even that, of *preventing the Exportation of it.*

† I muſt beg Leave to diſſent from the Opinion of this Writer, in regard to *combed Wool.* Was it true, that *Clothing Wool* was the peculiar Growth of *England* and *Ireland*, much might be ſaid for endeavouring to monopolize it; ſince that would be gaining a Monopoly of *Cloth*, which, beyond all other Manufactures, leaſt admits of being rivalled; there being, for certain pretty general Uſes, nothing equivalent to it. But the ſame cannot be ſaid for *Stuffs* and *Stockins* made of *combed Wool*, which, at the beſt, are but in Imitation of Manufactures made from better Materials, ſuch as, *Silk*, *Camels*, and *Goats Hair*, *Cotton*, and *fine Thread.* And therefore admitting (which I think is true) that ſome *Engliſh* combing Wool is ſo good, as that there is none which does exceed it; yet for the Reaſons mentioned, and becauſe it is not impoſſible but that there are, or may be, in other Places, combing Wool equally good as the beſt of *England*; and becauſe fine *Spaniſh* Wool, we ſhall ſee, in ſome Inſtances *, anſwers the ſame End and Uſe as the beſt *Engliſh* combed Wool; and becauſe the

* Ch. 156. §. 18.

combing

CHAP. LI.

England's *Intereſt*, &c. *By* W. C. 1671.

1. *Edward* III. * having ſettled the Manufacture of Wools within the Kingdom of *England*, confined it by a penal Statute, which at firſt reached not only to Goods and Chattels, and Lands, but alſo to Members, and Life itſelf; but in a ſhort time repealed the two latter thereof; continuing the other in its full Force to remain to future Generations. Which exceeding great Advantage to the Propriety of the *Engliſh* Trade hath now continued theſe three hundred Years. †

Page 3.

2. But latterly, not only *Holland*, *Flanders*, and *Zealand*, have ſucked the Sweetneſs of the Sinews of our Trade; but *France* is likewiſe learning to be too hard for us, as is manifeſt by the great Quantities of Wool, of late Years, tranſported thither from *England* and *Ireland*. How injurious it muſt be to us is alſo unqueſtionable, if we conſider the Conſequence thereof, which was (without queſtion) much in the Eye of our Anceſtors, as appears by what is above hinted in *Edw.* III. and ſeveral Reigns ſince.

3. Every *combing* of Wool is ſo much a Buſineſs in ſeveral foreign Parts, and in one Place particularly, *Turcoing* [f], there are 14 *Woolcomb-makers*, while there are but two, as we are told, in the City of *London*. From all theſe Conſiderations laid together, I think it is to be concluded, that *Engliſh combing Wool* is not altogether of that Conſequence, which this Author would have it believed to be.

[f] Ch. 140. §. 13.

* The Author, after his long Preface, begins this Tract with repeating from *W. S. Gent.* what I have tranſcribed from that Writer, (ſee Chap. 41. §. 1—6.) proceeding with this falſe Hiſtory (§. 1.) which I have before [g] had Occaſion to note.

[g] Ch. 41. §. 2, 6. *Note.*

† Would not any one think from this Writer, that the Exportation of Wool had been prohibited ſo long, without Interruption, under the Penalty of forfeiting Goods, Chattels, and Lands. Which is ſo great a Falſehood [h], that it is Matter of Surprize, to think how any one came firſt to be Fool enough to imagine, or ſo great and confident a Knave as to invent and utter it.

[h] *See* Chap. 5. §. 12, 35. Ch. 6--27.

3. Every Pack of Wool ſent to *France* doth prevent us, not only of the Benefit of the Manufacture thereof, but of two Packs * more beſides itſelf, *viz.* thus: it being combing and combed Wool, for the moſt part, exported thither. The *French* having *no Wools* of their own, but ſuch as is very coarſe [i], are not able to make Cloth or fine Stuffs, without the Conjunction of ours therewithal; there being none, to my beſt Information, in all the World, fit for that Purpoſe, but ours only, except in *North Holland*, and that, a ſmall Quantity of fine Worſted Wool; all others being likewiſe coarſe, but *Spaniſh* Wool; and that much too fine, eſpecially for Worſted Stuffs, and not in any wiſe fit for combing; ſo that without *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Wools, there can be no Quantity of fine Worſted Stuffs, nor a middle Sort of Cloth, made in the WHOLE WORLD. Neither will any *Wools* be all mixed together, but *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* (for Cloth only) becauſe the *Spaniſh* is with the *Engliſh* of one Nature, being formerly *Engliſh* Sheep.

[i] Ch. 56. §. 26.

4. Where-

* *W. S.* had before told us [k], that *Spaniſh Wool* would not make Cloth, without a Mixture of *Engliſh Clothing Wool*; and now we are informed by this Writer, that the *French* cannot make Worſted Stuffs, nor middling Cloths, without a Mixture alſo of *Engliſh combing*, or *clothing Wool*. So that according to theſe two Writers, *W. S.* and *W. C.* the *Engliſh* Wool in general is a *Neceſſary of Life to all the World*, as being a *ſine qua non* to every Species of Woolen Manufacture that is tolerable; and theſe would be fine Circumſtances indeed for *England*, were they but true; the former of theſe, the Neceſſity of *Engliſh* Wool for making fine *Cloth*, we ſhall find, after ſome time, with good Reaſon given up [l]; but the latter, that of Wonders to be effected by mixing *Engliſh* and *French* Wools together, (an ingenious Fiction, of which this Author gives us, ſo far as I can learn, the firſt Intimation [m]) has been thought ſo convenient a Doctrine, that to this very Day it is diligently propagated, *i. e.* it has been repeated and ecchoed from one Writer to another, with ſome Improvements, but without one explicit Argument for, or Evidence of, its being true, eſpecially in the Senſe, in which it is commonly repreſented, and intended to be underſtood. *And here note*, That this ſuppoſed extraordinary Quality of *Engliſh* Wools for mixing with foreign, is what Sir *Joſiah Child* has made no mention of.

[k] Ch. 41. §. 4.

[l] Ch. 140. §. 1.

[m] §. 4.

4. Wherefore the Exportation of *Engliſh* Wools into *France* muſt of neceſſity be greatly prejudicial to this Nation, not only in the Quantity ſent over, but alſo in the Advantage which is thereby given them to manufacture a double Portion of *their Wool*, which formerly was little worth, into ſuch Commodities, as ſpoils us of the Advantages of our proper Trades, not only thither, but alſo into other Parts.

5. The Comb'd of the *Engliſh Wool* makes Woof for the Warps of the *French Wool*, without which they can only make Ruggs, and at the beſt, Cloth for Seamen.

6. Their Combings, or Pinions, *viz.* the ſhort Wool that is combed out of the Worſted ſerves for their Linen Warp, to make ſome of their Druggets.

7. The fineſt ſhort *Engliſh* Wool is mixed with the loweſt *Spaniſh* Wool, called ſhort Wool, for ſome of their beſt Druggets, wove upon Worſted Chains; and alſo for a middle Sort of Broad Cloth, about 10 or 12*s.* *per* Yard. This is the Cauſe, I judge, that ſhort *Spaniſh* Wool is ſo ſcarce here in *England*.

8. Now if we conſider theſe Things together, the Page 5. Damage of exporting one Pack from *England* to *France*, at about 10 or 12 *l. Sterling*, preventing the manufacturing of two Packs more in *England*, which would be worth 100 *l.*; *England*'s Loſs in the whole, by the Exportation of one Pack of Wool, can be little leſs than 90 *l.*

9. Moreover, conſidering the Cuſtom, when exported in Manufacture, and the Profit of the Returns, with the Cuſtom thereof, it's much if it do not double the firſt Principal of 90 or 100 *l.* And if the Exportation of one Pack of *Engliſh* Wool be near 200 *l.* Damage to the King and Kingdom, what will be the Loſs of exporting 10 or 15,000 Packs into *France*, beſides many to other Parts? And not only ſo, but theſe further Inconveniences muſt ariſe upon us, *viz.* firſt, the ſpoiling of our 6. Trade with *France* in all our Woolen Manufacture, as doth already appear by the Impoſt put upon the ſame from 20 to 40 *per Cent.* *

10. And

* Here lay the great Grievance, and for which the only Remedy was, Repriſals upon the *French* Product and Manufactures.

10. And, secondly, in time, it will capacitate the *French*, as well as the *Dutch*, to underſell the *Engliſh* Merchants in foreign Parts, nay, poſſibly in our own Country. And ſo much indeed have we been deceived in this Matter, that whereas in Time of the late War with the *Dutch* and *French*, thoſe *French* Druggets were thereby much prevented, many *Engliſh* ſtriped Broad Cloths, rent through into three Parts, (about 16*s.* *per* Yard Price) being put into the Form of *French* Druggets, were ſold at 8*s.* *per* Yard, and ſo in the whole came to 1*l.* 4*s.* *per* Yard. So likewiſe it is certainly true, that thoſe Druggets made in *England*, do go for *French*. Such is our Love to the *French* Mode.

11. The Advantage we give them beſides, in the Mixture of our Wools with theirs, is ſuch, that, whereas their Wool of itſelf is not worth 4*l.* *per* Pack; being mixed with ours, becomes ſo fit for Worſted Stuffs, as that it comes to be worth no leſs than 12*l.* *per* Pack. Hence it is obvious, that the Exportation of Wools from *England* and *Ireland* is of a dangerous and deſtructive Nature. *

12. What-

nufactures. This had been attempted in 1667, (ſee Ch. 50. §. 6.) but was not yet perfected. As to the Exportation of Wools to *France*, if, whether for the Advantage of mixing, or through the low Price of Labour there, or for any other Reaſon, the *French* would afford a better Price for it, than was to be had in the *Engliſh* Markets; in that Caſe, Sir *Joſiah Child* has told us ° plainly and truly, that it is not in the Power of Laws, to prevent their having it. *Such* (ſays he) *is the Force, Subtilty and Violence of the Courſe of Trade.*

° Ch. 48. §. 3.

* Admit all this were literally true, according to Sir *Joſiah Child*, how can it be prevented? Moreover (ſee Chap. 40. §. 13. *Note*) in the Year 1685, *French* Wool imported into *England* at 10*l.* a Bag, which Bag is commonly leſs than the *Engliſh* Pack; the former being ordinarily but 200, the latter, for the moſt part, 240 Pounds. But whatever might be the Weight of thoſe Bags, they were valued at half the Price of *Spaniſh* Wool imported at the ſame time; which has not lately been the Caſe of any *Engliſh* Wool in *England*. And admitting the Poſſibility of improving the Value of *French* Wools by the Mixture here mentioned, from

12. Whatever Objections have been made to the preventing of this, with reſpect to the Graſier's preſent Advantage, (whoſe Loſs may poſſibly be ſuppoſed, by prohibiting Exportation) to be about * 20 *s.* in every Pack, I have this to ſay, that what is loſt that way, would be gained by every other Commodity, as Corn, Fleſh, *&c.* For it hath always been obſerved in former Times hitherto, that when the Clothier had the beſt Trade at *London*, the Farmer did not loſe his Share in the Advantage thereof. †

13. If it be ſo, that while we have a little Trade, we can hardly live, one by another, what may be expected, if our Trade ſhould be taken away? Which is now in more Danger, by the *French*, than it hath been this 300 Years paſt ‖. The Conſequence will be, to bring the Page 8.

R Price

from 4 to 12 *l.* a Pack; would it not be equally advantageous, to import two Packs of *French* Wool to *England*, as to export one Pack of *Engliſh* Wool to *France*? If ſo, it would be twice more eaſy to do the former, than the latter; becauſe in *France*, the Exportation of Wool does not appear to be prohibited. Nay, I know there are thoſe who will laugh at the very Notion of *French Wool* being a Commodity for Traffic or Importation to *England*. But ſee (Ch. 40. §. 11, 12, 13.) an Act, *&c.* prohibiting the Importation of WOOL from FRANCE. *See alſo* (§. 13. *Note.*) French Wool *imported to* England, *and the Price of it.*

* The Writers upon this Subject had not yet learned to deny currently, that prohibiting the Exportation thereof, was a Loſs to the Graſier, in the Price of his Wool. But ſee ſome Approaches towards it (§. 13.)

† This is very true. But does not the Clothiers Trade, both at *London* and in the Country, depend alſo upon the Farmer being in good Plight? Hath not Sir *Joſiah Child* ‖ Ch. 47. ſaid, '*That Trade and Land muſt waxe and wane together*; §. 1. '*That it cannot be ill with Land, but Trade muſt feel it.*'

‖ This was very true; the Trade of *England* was never in a worſe Condition than at this Period; but that, not ſo much by the Exportation of Wool, (tho' as leſs, comparatively, was never uſed at home, ſo it had never gone abroad in larger Quantities) as by continuing to import *French* Goods, *Wine, Brandy, Linen, Silk, &c.* without properly reſenting the *French* Impoſts upon the *Engliſh Woolen Manufactures*, although they amounted very near to a Prohibition.

Price of Wool to 6 *d.* a Pound, as it appears to have been (in a little Piece called *The Golden Fleece*, written
[q] Ch. 41. by *W. S.* Gent. [q] in the Year 1656.) 300 Years agone, tho' the Cloth then ſold for 10 *s.* a Yard, when at this Day, Cloth made in *England*, of Wool at 12 *d. per* Pound, will hardly yield 7 *s. per* Yard. *

14. And though, for the preſent, the Price of Wool be riſen by its Exportation, yet if the Quantity lately exported (being no leſs than 20,000 Packs) had been kept in *England*, the ſame Quantity, if not 10,000 Packs more, would in time have been exported in the particular Manufactures. For if the Wools was not exported to thoſe Places beyond the Seas, there to be manufactured, they MUST of NECESSITY have our Woolen Manufacture, and could not have the Advantage of working up *French Wool*, ſhort *Spaniſh Wool*, and their fine ſpun Linen. By all which, as there will be leſs Demand for *Engliſh* Woolen Goods, ſo the Wool of *England* will be render'd much cheaper. For as our Experience is, when
Wool at 18 d. per Pound. the Wool was all uſed in *England*, or very little exported, the Wool was then at 18 *d.* † *per* Pound; and when all,

* Tho' we may juſtly queſtion *W. S.* as to the Price of Wool and Cloth in *Edw.* III's this Writer, *W. C.* could not but know, if Wool was at this Time, he mentions, 12 *d. per* Pound, as he ſays, and in this, I think, muſt be credited; becauſe it cannot be ſuppoſed that any Writer would venture to aſſert, what almoſt every Reader had in his Power to contradict, if not true. We may therefore *note two things here*, 1ſt, That Wool had not yet fallen generally to 6 *d. per* Pound, as preſently we ſhall find it did to that, or a leſs Price. 2dly, That ſome *Engliſh* Wool was at this
Wool 12 d. a Pound, or 28 s. per Tod. Time ſold for 12 *d. per* Pound, or 28 *s. per* Tod. He intimates indeed, that there was, at this Juncture, an Advance in the Price of Wool, and mentions withal the Reaſon thereof, in his Opinion at leaſt. (See §. 14.)

† Here he ſpeaks of Wool having been ſold at 18 *d. per* Pound, which is 42 *s. per* Tod. He does not ſay when;
[r] Ch. 58. §. 10. but that will appear by and by [r]. And though he ſays it was then all uſed in *England*, or however very little exported, yet I ſhall take Occaſion to ſhew, that at the very Time, to which he here probably alludes, there was an Exportation of Wool, allowed by Authority. So that the Argument does not conclude, as he would have it underſtood, for the Advantage, even as to Price, in *prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool.*

To

all, or the greateſt Part was exported, (*viz.* before 11 *Edw.* III.) it was at 6 *d. per* Pound.

R 2 CHAP.

To ſet off with more Advantage his own Opinions, he has Recourſe alſo to that famous Letter[s], ſaid to be Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s, without appearing to know any thing of the miſchievous Conſequences that Letter produced to the *Cloth Trade of England*. But from the Eſtimates therein, of the Loſs ſuſtained by the Nation, in ſending out Cloths undreſſed and undyed, argues how much worſe it muſt be to ſuffer the Exportation of Wool. And here this Writer, like many others, does not make any Diſtinction between *prohibiting*, and *preventing*, the Exportation of Wool, altho' the former, it is well known, does not imply the latter. He does not conſider, that preventing the Exportation of Wool would not certainly promote the Woolen Manufacture; whereas ſo far as the Woolen Manufacture is promoted, ſo far the Exportation of Wool is effectually prevented.

[s] Ch. 30, 31.

Indeed the whole Arguments of this Writer, as alſo of moſt others on the ſame Side of the Queſtion, center in this, that a greater Gain ariſes to the Nation from exporting the Manufacture than the Material, foraſmuch as the former brings more Money into the Kingdom, than the latter can do. But this amounts to nothing more than a good Argument in Favour of Manufacture in general; there are other things in this particular Caſe to be conſidered, beſides the prohibiting, or even contriving how to prevent the Exportation of Wool. However, to prevent the Exportation of Wool, this Author recommends ſeveral, but principally theſe two things.

1. 'That all Perſons in *England* may be accountable for 'Wool, 'till manufactured.

2. 'That there be certain Ports appointed for Wool from '*Ireland*;' the greateſt Source, he ſays, of Miſchief, in this Caſe, to *England*, and much increaſed ſince the Act againſt Cattle. In the latter (Wool Ports) his Meaſures have been purſued, (ſee Chap. 72. §. 3. *Note*. Chap. 76. §. 14. *Note*.) though not with very good Succeſs. The former (a Regiſtry) has been ſo far approved, that it has often been under Conſideration, to find out a Scheme for the Purpoſe, fit to be put in Practice. But in this, many Difficulties ariſe.

CHAP. LII.

The Political Anatomy of Ireland, 1672. *By Sir* W. Petty. *Reprinted* 1719.

Page 21. 1. THE Cattle and Stock [of *Ireland*] *Anno* 1641, was worth above four Millions, reckoning one Beef of 20*s.* Value, or the Equivalent in other Stock, to two Acres. But *Anno* 1652, the People of *Dublin* fetch'd Meat from *Wales*, there being none here, and the whole Cattle of *Ireland* not worth 500,000 *l.*

31. 2. If both Kingdoms were under one Legiſlative Power and Parliament, the Members whereof ſhould be proportionable in Power and Wealth, of each Nation, there would be no Danger ſuch a Parliament ſhould do any thing to the Prejudice of the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland*; nor could the *Iriſh* ever complain of Partiality, when they ſhall be freely and proportionably repreſented in all Legiſlatures.

3. 3. If it be good for *England* to keep *Ireland* a diſtinct Kingdom, why do not the predominant Party in Parliament (ſuppoſe the Weſtern Members) make *England*, beyond *Trent*, another Kingdom, under Commerce, and take Tolls and Cuſtoms upon the Borders? Or why was there ever Union between *England* and *Wales*, the good Effects and Fruits whereof were never queſtioned? And why may not the entire Kingdom of *England* be further cantonized for the Advantage of Parties?

54. 4. A Fleece of Wool in *Ireland* is about two Pounds Weight. The Wool which is uſually exported, being
55. a little above two Millions * of Pounds, grows upon
56. 1,000,000 Sheep: And the Wool which cloaths the Nation

* However juſt this Calculation might be, before the Breed of Sheep was increaſed and improved in *Ireland*, in Conſequence of the Act prohibiting the Cattle of that Kingdom in *England*, 'tis certain that the Quantity of Wool exported annually ſince that Time from *Ireland* to *England* only, has been, at ſome Periods, much larger than what is here repreſented to be the whole ſpare Wool of *Ireland*. This Calculation ſuppoſes but about 25,000 Stone, at 16 Pounds

tion being about 1100,000 Bodies, at each for Cloaths, Hats, and Stockins, requires 6,000,000 *l.* more, and ſo three Millions of Sheep: in all, four Millions.

5. *Ireland*, *Anno* 1664, did not export to a much greater Value[s] than it imported, *viz.* about 62,000 *l.* Since which Time there hath been a Law made to prohibit the Importation of great Cattle and Sheep, alive or dead, into *England*; the Value whereof carried into *England* in that very Year 1664, was above 150,000 *l.* The which was ſaid to be done, for that *Ireland* drained away the Money of *England*; whereas in that very Year, *England* ſent to *Ireland* but 91,000 *l.* leſs than it received from thence; and yet this ſmall Difference was ſaid to be the Reaſon, why the Rents of *England* fell a fifth Part, *i. e.* 1,600,000 *l.* in eight Millions. Which was a ſtrange Conceit, if they conſider farther, that the Value of the Cattle, alive or dead, which went out of *Ireland* into *England*, was but 132,000 *l.*; the Hides, Tallow, and Freight whereof were worth about half the Money. Whereas the Owners of about one Quarter, both of all the real and perſonal Eſtates of *Ireland*, do live in *England*; all that belongs to whom, goes out, but returns not. Page 69. [s] *Viz. in Silver and Gold.* Page 70.

6. *Anno* 1664, before the Cattle Statute, three fourths of the *Ireland* foreign Trade was with *England*; but now, not one fourth Part of the ſame. 90.

7. By Calculations it ſeems, that near thrice as much Wool is ſpent in *Ireland*, as exported; whereas, others have thought quite contrary, that is, that the exported Wool is triple in Quantity to what is ſpent at home. 96.

Pounds to the Stone, to be produced there, more than conſumed at home; whereas in 1687 [t], when the *Iriſh* Woolen Manufacture was at the higheſt, there was imported from thence to *England*, at 16 Pounds to the Stone, 292,792 Stones of Wool and Yarn; alſo in 1697 [u], when the Woolen Manufacture of that Kingdom was again conſiderable, the Wool and Yarn imported thence to *England* was 260,052 Stones; from 1700 [w] to 1703 incluſive, at a Medium, 361,491 Stones; from 1711 to 1714, 283,795 Stones, upon a Medium; and in 1723 [x], 271,291 Stones. And in 1698, according to Mr. *Dobbs*, in his *Eſſay on the Trade and Improvement of* Ireland [y], the *Iriſh* Export of Wool only to *Britain* was 377520 ¾ Stones.

[t] Ch. 126. §. 8.
[u] §. 9.
[w] §. 10.
[x] Ch. 124. §. 2.
[y] Part 1. p. 76.

8. The Clothing Trade is not arrived to what it was before the late Rebellion: And the Art of making the excellent, thick, ſpungy, warm Coverlets ſeems to be loſt.

Page 112. 8. *A Report from the Council of Trade in* Ireland, *viz.* the Value of the Cattle, *viz.* live Oxen and Sheep carried out of *Ireland* into *England*, was never more [z] than 140,000 *l. per Annum*; the Freight, Hides, Tallow, and Wool of the ſaid Cattle were worth about 60,000 *l.* of the ſaid 140,000 *l.*; and the Value of the Goods imported out of *England* into *Ireland* (when the Cattle Trade was free) was between treble and quadruple to the neat Value of the Ox and Sheep's Fleſh tranſported from hence into *England*.

[z] *Communibus annis.*

Inferences from the Premiſes, p. 123. 9. It is conceived, that about one third of the imported Manufactures might be made in *Ireland*, and one third of the Remainder might be more conveniently had from foreign Parts than out of *England*, and conſequently that it is ſcarce neceſſary at all for *Ireland* to receive any Goods of *England*, and not convenient to receive above one fourth from thence of the whole which it needeth to import, the Value whereof is under 100,000 *l. per Annum*.

Application, p. 125. 10. Therefore it is humbly offered, that forthwith Application be made unto *England* to reſtore the Trade from the Plantations, and between the two Kingdoms, and particularly that of Cattle, as heretofore.

11. That Endeavours be uſed in *England* for the Union * of the Kingdoms under one Legiſlative Power, proportionably, as was heretofore done in *Wales*.

CHAP.

* An Union of trading Intereſts, at leaſt, is very practicable. (See Chap. 46. §. 5. *Note*.)

CHAP. LIII.

A Letter from Sir William Temple, *dated at* Dublin 1673, *to the Earl of* Eſſex, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.

1. UNTIL the Tranſportation of Cattle into *England* was forbidden by the late Act of Parliament, the quickeſt Trade of ready Money here was driven by the Sale of young Bullocks, which for four or five Summer Months in the Year, were carried over in very great Numbers; and this made all the Breeders in the Kingdom turn their Lands and Stock chiefly to that Sort of Cattle. Few Cows were bred up for the Dairy, more than for the Conſumption within, and few Oxen for Draught. Hence the Cattle ſlaughtered within were young—the Hides mean—the Quantity of Tallow ſmall—little Butter was exported—above all, the Trade of Beef for Exportation was next to nothing.

2. But after the Act in *England* had wholly ſtopp'd the Exportation of Cattle, the Trade of *Ireland* was forced to find out a new Channel; a great deal of Land was turned to Sheep, becauſe Wool gave ready Money for the *Engliſh* Markets, and, by Stealth, for thoſe abroad. The Breeders of *Engliſh* Cattle [i. e. *Cattle originally of* Engliſh *Breed*] turned much to Dairy; or elſe by keeping their Cattle to ſix or ſeven Years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the Beef Trade abroad.

3. When the Paſſage is open, Land will be turned moſt to great Cattle, when ſhut to Sheep, as it is at preſent, tho' I am not of Opinion that it can laſt; becauſe that Act ſeems to have been carried on, rather by the Intereſt of particular Counties in *England*, than by that of the whole, which, in my Opinion, muſt be evidently a Loſer by it.

4. For, firſt, the Freight of all Cattle, that were brought over, being in *Engliſh* Veſſels, was ſo much clear Gain to *England*. The Trade of Hides and Tallow, or elſe of Leather, was mightily advanced in *England*, which will be beaten down by foreign Markets in *Ireland*,

if they come to kill all their Cattle at home. ——— *Iriſh* Beef, which had in a manner no Part before in the Trade abroad, will ſhare in it with *England*. The Trade of *Engliſh* Butter will be beaten down, when *Ireland* turns to the Dairy, in the way of *Engliſh* Houſewifry, (as it has done a great deal, ſince the Reſtraint upon Cattle.)

5. And whereas *Ireland* had before very little Trade but with *England*, and with the Money for their Cattle bought all the Commodities there which they wanted: By this Reſtraint, they are forced to ſeek a foreign Market; and where they ſell, they will be ſure to buy too; and all the foreign Merchandize which they had before from *Briſtol*, *Cheſter*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Roan*, *Amſterdam*, *Lisbon*, and the *Streights*.

6. As for the Cauſes of the Decay of Rents in *England*, which was made the Occaſion of that Act, they proceeded not from the Tranſportation of *Iriſh* Cattle. Beſides, the Rents have been far from increaſing ſince; and tho' that may be by other Accidents, yet, as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unleſs Wool be forbidden as well as Cattle; for the leſs Cattle comes over from thence, there comes the more Wool; which goes as far as the other in beating down the Price of Paſture Lands in *England*; and yet the Tranſportation of Wool cannot be forbidden, ſince that would force the *Iriſh* Wool either by Stealth into foreign Markets, or elſe in Cloth, by the Advance of that Manufacture. *Either* * of which would bring a ſudden Decay upon a principal Branch of the *Engliſh* Trade.

CHAP.

* We have lived to ſee *both*, and the *Engliſh* foreign Beef Trade likewiſe transferred to *Ireland* altogether.

CHAP. LIV.

A Scheme, &c.

LONDON, 29 *Nov.* 1674.

1. A Scheme of the Trade, as it is at preſent carried on between *England* and *France*, in the Commodities of the native Product and Manufacture of each Country; calculated as exactly as poſſible, in Obedience to the Command of the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners for the Treaty of Commerce with *France*; and humbly tendred to their Lordſhips, *viz.* *Britiſh Merchant*, vol. 1. p. 181.

EXPORTED.

2. *Woolen and Silk Manufactures, from* Michaelmas 1668 *to* 1669. *Total Amount* — £ 84,621 6 8

N. B. Since 1669, the Exports, we conceive, are diminiſhed.

Lead, Tin, Allum, &c. — £ 86,400 0 0

Total Exported — — £ 171,021 6 8

Commodities Imported.

3. *Linen and Silk Manufacturies*, £ 807,250 4 0 &c. In all to the Amount of — — £ 1,136,150 4 0

Balance gained by the *French* — £ 965,128 17 4

Beſides Toys, &c.

4. By the Account above *, your Lordſhips may perceive, that the Linen and Silk Manufactures only, imported from *France*, amount to upwards of 800,000 *l.* and the Manufactures of *Wool* and *Silk* exported from *England* thither, do not amount to 85,000 *l.* As alſo all other Commodities of the Product and Manufacture of *England* exported into *France*, do not amount to 90,000 *l.* more; whereas the Wines, Brandies, and other

* By the Account above, it ſeems as if Mr. *Fortry* (Chap. 44. §. 8.) had greatly miſtaken the *Engliſh* Exports particularly to *France*, in rating the ſame at a Million yearly.

other Commodities of the Product and Manufacture of *France*, imported into *England*, amount to upwards of 300,000 *l.* besides an incredible Value of Toys, rich Apparel, Point, Lace, *&c.* So that it is apparent, that the Exports of our native Commodities and Manufactures to *France*, are less valuable by at least one Million * of Pounds *Sterling*, than the native Commodities and Manufactures of *France*, which we receive from thence. And if it please your Lordships to reflect thereon, your Lordships will easily discern the great Prejudice the *English* Nation hath sustained, and the great Advantage the *French* have, and do daily make, by holding this Treaty in Suspence; this Nation being upon the Matter excluded Trade thither, while in the mean time the *French* enjoy all, and as great Advantages, as they can reasonably expect by any Treaty,

Patience Ward, *George Toriano*, *John Dubois*,
Tho. Papillon, *John Houblon*, *Benj. Godfrey*,
James Houblon, *John Houghe*, *Edm. Harrison*,
William Bellamy, *John Mervin*, *Benj. Delaune*,
Michael Godfrey, *Peter Paravicine*,

CHAP. LV.

An Essay, to the restoring of our decayed Trade; wherein is described, the Smuglers, Officers, *and* Lawyers *Frauds*, &c. *By* Joseph Trevers, 1675.

Page 1. 1. BY reason of my former Employment, as a Clothier, and afterwards in the Office of Surveyor of one of the Ports of this Kingdom at the *Custom House*, I am experimentally enabled to speak those things which follow.

2. There

Echard, vol. 3. p. 395. * *A. D.* 1675. The Commons examining the Trade with *France*, found that the *French* imported yearly into *England*, Commodities to the Value of a Million more than they exported; upon which a Bill was ordered to be prepared.

2. There is a miſerable Decay of Trade in the Nation. But if the Wool of *England* and *Ireland* were ſecured from Exportation to Foreigners, doubtleſs *England* would be the general Market for the *whole Univerſe*, for the Matter of Clothing. Page 2. 3.

3. It is ſufficiently known *, that the *French Wool* particularly is very coarſe, fit only to make a Sort of Cloth for Seamen and Fiſhermen. But by having our good Wool, mixing one Part of it with two of theirs, they make their Cloths and Stuffs paſs very acceptably. Yea, the *Engliſh* buy the *French* Druggets ſo made; when we do, or at leaſt may, make better † of our own. And if this Affair was carefully looked after by the Officers of the Cuſtoms in our Out-Ports eſpecially, there might be ſpeedily a good Stop put to this their Trade, which is the Foundation of our Poverty, which now is become ſo general. For the Clothing Trade failing, many other Trades, as they neceſſarily muſt do, fail alſo. 4. 6.

4. It is well known, that the Smuglers are none of the meaneſt Perſons in the Places, where they dwell; but have oftentimes great Intereſt with the Magiſtrates, and being Purſe proud, do not value what they ſpend, to ingratiate themſelves with Perſons of Authority, to deſtroy all ſuch as diſcover their fraudulent Dealings, or elſe by Bribes ‖ to ſtop their Mouths. 10.

5. I have

* That is, it hath been ſo ſaid by *W. C.* (Chap. 51. §. 3.)

† Does not this laſt Expreſſion beſpeak ſomething more in the *French Art*, than in the *Engliſh Material*? But we ſhall find Reaſon to think, that theſe *French* Druggets, of which the *Engliſh*, it ſeems, were ſo enamoured, were made of better than *Engliſh* Materials, *viz.* fine *Spaniſh Wool*. (See Chap. 156. §. 9.)

‖ 'Some Officers finding a peculiar and preſent Profit, 'by being inveſted with a golden Livery, do rather chuſe 'that, than to do their King and Country faithful Service. 'Or if there ſhould chance to be a Diſcovery or Seizure, 'there ſhall be all preſent Help at hand, if need require; 'even falſe Witneſſes, malicious Proſecutions, joined with 'odious Appellations of *Informing Knave*, &c. The Smug-'lers are not only well acquainted with ſome Attorneys and 'Clerks, but they make good Intereſt with the Under-She-'riffs,

5. I have had Diſcourſe with ſome Perſons, who have had the Thoughts of getting a *Patent* to put the Laws in Execution, that are againſt the Tranſportation of Wool, *&c.* But I can hardly think they would be careful and diligent in their Employment; and it is generally believed, that there would be more ſmuggling, if this Affair were once committed to *Patentees*, the Love of Money is ſo natural.*

CHAP. LVI.

Reaſons for a limited Exportation of Wool, 1677.

Page 3. 1. *Reflecting, with great Reſentment, on the juſt Complaints of the Landlords and Tenants of this Nation, who attribute one of the greateſt Originals of their Miſery to the Cheapneſs of* Wool; *I began to think of ſome Remedy to this Diſeaſe; which tho' 'tis not in my Power to cure, yet to propoſe the Means to ſuch as can, I am not forbid. But finding my Deſign oppoſed by ſeveral Pamphlets under the Name of* W. C. *and chiefly by one he calls* * England's Intereſt, *I have here endeavoured to winnow his Handful of Corn from the abundance of Chaff; and reducing his whole Diſcourſe to a few Propoſitions, with ſome Objections and Anſwers; I do willingly grant him thoſe which follow.*

* *See* Ch. 50, 51.

2. Since the Time of *Edward* III. (the † Founder of the Woolen Manufacture) the Trade of Wool hath been one of the chiefeſt Riches of this Nation, it employs many Perſons, brings many profitable Returns, increaſes Shipping, *&c.*

† Chap. 4. §. 16. *Note.* Chap. 5. §. 1. *Note.*

3. On

' riffs, in the Countries where they drive their Trade. ' And theſe have ſtrange Tricks and Delays in their Re- ' turns, in which ſome of them will take Part with the Of- ' fenders, inſtead of executing the Law againſt them.'

* N. B. *This Writer tranſcribes much from* W. S. *Gent.* (See Ch. 41. §. 1--6.) *and alſo lays great Streſs upon the Opinions ſaid to have been Sir* Walter Raleigh's. (See Chap. 30.)

3. On the contrary, the Diminution of this Manufacture is diſadvantageous to many Families, and to the Nation, by not making the greateſt Advantage of the Superfluity of a native Commodity, &c. and tho' this be granted, yet I cannot acknowledge that a Manufacture maketh fewer Poor, but rather the contrary.* For tho' it ſets the Poor on Work where it finds them, yet it draws ſtill more to the Place; and their Maſters allow Wages ſo mean, that they are only preſerved from ſtarving whilſt they can work; when Age, Sickneſs, or Death comes, themſelves, their Wives, or their Children, are moſt commonly left upon the Pariſh. Which is the Reaſon why thoſe Towns (as in the *Weald* of *Kent*) whence the Clothing is departed, have fewer Poor than they had before. Page 4.

4. The Profit ariſing by the Tranſportation of a Manufacture is much greater (ſuppoſing equal Vent) than that of unwrought Materials; Art increaſing the Value ſo much as the Thing wrought is more uſeful, and the working laborious.

5. The Tranſportation of Wool is a Benefit to others, (as all things vented to Foreigners are, who elſe would not buy them) particularly it much profits the *French*, helping them to work their own coarſe Wool, &c.

6. It were to be wiſhed, and all Endeavours ought to be uſed, that our ſuperfluous Wool, which we ſpend not ourſelves, might be vented in Manufacture, and not in the crude Material; tho' I cannot be informed this was ever yet done in *England*, yet I wiſh honeſt induſtrious Workmen would bring it paſs.

7. But all theſe being granted, the Queſtion ſtill remains, whether, ſince the Manufacture of our ſuperfluous Wool cannot be vended abroad, it were not better to permit the Wool unwrought to be tranſported, with ſuch Limitations as may be leaſt detrimental to the Kingdom?

8. *And this we affirm*, 1. Becauſe, otherwiſe a profitable Commodity will be utterly waſted; and ſo not the Manufacturer only, but the Farmer and Landlord alſo will be ſo very much damnified, that the one cannot pay his Rent, nor the other ſuſtain the Taxes. And is not this the chief, if not the ſole, Reaſon of ſinking our Rents,

* See §. 25.

Rents, throwing up Farms, and the Miſery of the whole Country?

Page 5. 9. Now that it is the greateſt Concern and Intereſt of the Nation, to preſerve the Nobility, Gentry, and thoſe to whom the Land of this Country belongs; at leaſt, much greater than a few Artificers employed in working the Superfluity of our Wool, or the Merchants who gain by the Exportation of our Manufacture, is manifeſt: 1. Becauſe they are Maſters and Proprietaries of the Foundation of all the Wealth in this Nation, all Profit ariſing out of the Ground which is theirs. 2. Becauſe they bear all the Taxes and publick Burdens; which, in truth, are only born by thoſe who buy, and ſell not; all Sellers raiſing the Price of their Commodities, or abating of their Goodneſs, according to their Taxes. 3. Becauſe they maintain great Families, which conduce much to the Conſumption of our Manufactures; many People relying upon them: and perhaps as many as upon Cloth-working. 4. Becauſe they muſt of Neceſſity bear all Magiſtracies, and publick Employments, (how burdenſome ſoever) and are the only Hindrances of the Confuſion which would follow upon Equality. Whereas, ordinary working Perſonsmay, if one Employment fail, preſently undertake another, without any great Inconvenience or Detriment.

10. Now then ſuppoſe Wool fall to 3 *d. per* Pound, (as it muſt in a ſhort time, if not prevented) the Price of all Land in *England* muſt likewiſe fall; there being not one Acre which produceth not Wool, (ploughed Lands at leaſt, from Harveſt to Seed-time, and longer when they lie fallow) conſequently the Taxes, which are now generally on Land, and ever proportioned to the Rent, will be leſſened; yet the conſtant Charges of the Kingdom not leſſening, our Taxes muſt be oftener renewed, Page 6. and the Landlords Charge yet more increaſed, but his Means of diſcharging diminiſhed; and he muſt pay the more, the more he is diſabled. A hard Caſe! yet inevitable, unleſs the King and Parliament pleaſe to apply a ſpeedy Remedy. Thus muſt our Nobility and Gentry be forced to live at a meaner Rate, (who live, alas! too meanly in their Countries already) break up Houſe-keeping, maintain fewer Servants, leſs Hoſpitality, &c. Which has already ſomewhat, and will in time, as eminently leſſen the Kingdom, as any one thing can do.

11. By

11. By * hindering Exportation of Wool, pray y' conſider the great Loſs this poor Nation ſuſtains. I ſhall inſtance in *Romney*, and its neighbouring Levels, which contain about 44000 Acres; each Acre, one with another, in *Romney* Marſh, feeds three Sheep (beſides other Stock) at the leaſt: Suppoſe then we rate the whole Level thus, there will be found 132,000 Sheep; whereof 300 Fleeces will at the leaſt make four Packs of good Wool (240 Pound to the Pack); ſo then there are yearly ſhorn 1760 Packs, each of which were formerly ſold for 12 *l.* *Wool* per *Pack* 12 *l.*

12. In the Year 1647 †, (when Exportation of Wool was firſt prohibited) it was ſold for 15 *l.*; the Year after 15 *l.*

* This Writer does not always diſtinguiſh rightly between *forbidding*, and *hindering*, the Exportation of Wool.

† It were to be wiſhed, that our Author had related this by ſome Circumſtance, which might have convinced us, that he did not miſtake one Year for another. However, taking his own Repreſentation, as to the Facts, it is poſſible that Wool might advance 20*s.* a Pack in the Year 1648, though not ſo much on Account of the Rot he mentions, as for another Reaſon, *viz.* the Bill for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, which paſſed in *January* 1647, was not only ſome time depending in Parliament, being near a Fortnight in the Houſe of Lords [z], after it had paſſed the Commons; but alſo (tho' that does not appear from the Abridgment of the Ordinance, yet, like moſt other Acts) it might commence from ſome particular Day; before which Day, (*in that Caſe*) it is not to be doubted, that a great Share of the Stock of Wool in Hand would be bought up, and actually exported; and this, added to that other Circumſtance of a Rot, makes it not improbable that Wool might be ſomething dearer in 1648, the Year immediately following the Prohibition, than in 1647, the Year before it. Nevertheleſs, (however that was) it is very obſervable, that a Dearth of Wool [a] appears to have been the very Reaſon for which the Exportation of it was, at this Time, prohibited; and tho' we are not ſure that it was then intended to be other than a temporary Expedient, the ſame Influence which then prevailed, perceiving it to anſwer well its original Intention, of lowering the Price of Wool, found Means, at another like Conjuncture [b], to have the Prohibition renewed; ſince which, it has put ſome or other of the ſame Party to the Expence of many falſe Aſſertions, to conceal this

[z] *See* C. 39. §. 3. Chap. 40. §. 7.

[a] *Dearneſs of Wool, the Reaſon why it was prohibited to be exported*, an. 1647, *and again in* 1660.

[b] Ch. 60. §. 5. *Note.*

Wool per *Pack* 16*l.*

ter (by reaſon of the great Rot, added to the mighty Deſtruction of Sheep in the Wars) for 16*l. per* Pack. But the Mortality of Sheep being recovered, yet the Prohibition continuing, Wool has, almoſt every Year ſince, abated of its Price; and now there are divers Perſons, who have four, and ſome, five Years Wool upon their Hands, not being able to get above 4*d.* or 5*d. per* Pound, that is, four or five Pounds a Pack for it; and I hear it has been ſold, this very Year, in ſome Places, but for 3*l.* 10*s. per* Pack.

4 *or* 5*l.* *Some at* 3*l.* 10*s.*

13. Thus by the moſt modeſt Computation, and ſuch as no Man can gainſay, there is loſt upon every Pack of Wool 7*l.*; which, ſuppoſing all the Wool of that Level ſold, it is evident 12,320*l.* is quite loſt, every Year, in that little Place only: which is very near 6*s. per* Acre through the whole Level loſt in the Rent. By which, pray y' judge, how many Millions are yearly loſt through all *England* by this Want of a limited Exportation. Who then can ſhew ſo much Cruelty, as to blame poor People, who to prevent ſome of this Damage, do adventure to help themſelves by Exportation? tho' they had much rather be content with a moderate Price in their own Country.

Page 7.

Chap. 50, 51.

14. And truly 'tis no wonder, that *W. C.* complains of the Difficulty and Impoſſibility of hindering Exportation, yet glories of his Diligence in ruining ſo many poor and induſtrious Perſons, for doing what he confeſſeth impoſſible to hinder. But our Superiors may conclude, ſince 'tis either impoſſible, or extreme difficult, to hinder Exportation, and that there may ariſe Troubles (as ſome have been kill'd) for endeavouring it, it is much better, and more natural, to permit Exportation under the moſt advantageous Terms their Wiſdom ſhall think fit. For, in truth, is it not very abſurd to imagine, that becauſe we cannot make ſo much of our Wool, as poſſibly may be made, that therefore we muſt make nothing of it? Like ſome perverſe and obſtinate Landlords,

this their principal Motive for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, and other Policies of the like Tendency; as being ſufficiently conſcious, that tho' they have been frequently able to carry their Point in different Shapes, yet it is not tenable, in that View, againſt the *Landed Intereſt*.

lords, who choſe rather to loſe all their Rent, than abate the leaſt Part of it.

15. A limited Exportation of Wool will be more for the Advantage of our own Woolen Trade, and leſs for that beyond Sea, than the * hindering of it has been. For if Strangers came hither to buy the Wool, though they bought greater Quantities, yet ſhould they pay dearer for it than they do at preſent: and the dearer their Commodities are, the dearer muſt they ſell their Manufactures, conſequently the more eaſily we may beat them out of their Trade. For were the Trade laid open, *Engliſhmen* might ſtill buy their Wool at reaſonable Prices; but Strangers muſt pay the dearer for it: as much as the Cuſtom, Officers Fees, Freight, Factorage, and other Charges amount unto; which will perhaps be equal to the firſt Penny paid for the Wool itſelf. Thus Strangers ſhall pay twice as much for our Wool as the *Engliſh* Clothier, who therefore may underſell them, and make more Advantage in the Price of his Cloth by the Exportation of Wool, than ever he did by the Prohibition of it. Page 8.

16. My next Reaſon againſt hindering Exportation of Wool is, becauſe by our Forefathers it never was prohibited, unleſs upon ſome great Occaſion, and for ſome ſmall Time †, 'till *Anno* 1647 *; and then alſo upon Pretence, that there was not Wool enough to furniſh our own Neceſſities: which, if true, might be becauſe of the great Deſtruction of Sheep by the Wars. Yet there ſeems to be another Ground for that Act: The Government of that Time, having been aſſiſted in the Civil Wars by great Numbers of the Wool-workmen (who liked much better to rob and plunder for Half-a-Crown a Day, than toil at a melancholy Work for Six-pence a Day) to encourage and reward them, I ſay, and to weaken the Gentry, they made this Prohibition. But to make this Reaſon good, let us run over the whole Hiſtory, or as much as we can find, concerning this Wool Buſineſs, either in our Acts of Parliament or creditable Hiſtorians, with all convenient Brevity. ‡ —— * *See* Chap. 66. §. 17. *Note.*

* Prohibiting of it, he ſhould have ſaid.

† See Chap. 5. §. 12. *Note.* §. 35, 36. *Note.*

‡ Here he gives an Abſtract from the Statute Books, &c. all which, and much more, ſee in the foregoing Chapters of theſe Memoirs.

Page 12. 17. Out of which Collections you may obſerve, that no abſolute Prohibition of exporting it was ever enacted [b] 'till the Reign of *Charles* I. nor then 'till 1647 [b], at which Time neither could he be ſaid to reign. Temporary ones indeed there have been; but thoſe of ill Conſequence to the Nation.

[b] Ch. 66. §. 17. *Note.*

18. It was thought ſufficient Advantage to the Manufacturers, that they might buy Wool when, and where, they pleaſed; but whatſoever Wool was ſold (to Strangers eſpecially) was not ſold 'till after a certain Time fixed [c]; that it was not to be bought by Brokers; that what was bought by Foreigners to be exported, paid greater Duties than what was bought by the Natives *; which Cautions alone, if well regulated, would render the Exportation, at this Day, very advantageous; certainly much more, than to let it putrify and moth-eat in our Store-houſes.

[c] Ch. 12. §. 8. Chap. 14. §. 9. Chap. 15. §. 23, 33.

Page 13. 19. My next Reaſon for the Permiſſion of Exportation is, becauſe it will better his Majeſties Cuſtoms. If it be anſwered, the Cuſtoms would advance much more, if the Wool were exported in Manufacture; we confeſs and ſeriouſly deſire, that our Wool were manufactured, and ſo exported and ſold: tho' this was never yet done in *England*, nor do I think can be. But our Queſtion here is concerning our ſuperfluous Wool; which remains after we have here made, or vended what we can.

20. The Reaſon of the Decay of Clothing is not Exportation of Wool, as *W. C.* ſuppoſes, but the contrary. For the Decay, if any be, is ſince this Prohibition: ſo that by hindering this, we apply a wrong Remedy to the Diſeaſe.

* Our Author ſeems to miſtake the ancient Laws in this Caſe, in ſuppoſing (as I conceive he meant) that Natives paid a Duty for Wool conſumed at home, tho' leſs than what was paid by Foreigners for Exportation. And ſome Words, particularly of the Statute 1 *Jac.* c. 33. and of the Ordinance of Parliament (1641, N° 11.) countenance ſuch an Opinion. But whoever ſhall take the Pains to ſearch narrowly into this Affair, will find no Traces of a Duty on Wool conſumed within the Kingdom; on the contrary, only on Wool, as on other Staple Commodities, *exported*; for which Merchant Strangers paid conſtantly more than Denizens, and generally double Duties. (See Chap. 18. §. 1. *Note.*)

Diſeaſe. But it proceeds from divers other Cauſes; as *firſt*, becauſe other Nations have of late improved their Manufactures: the *Dutch* ever ſince 1616 *: the *French* now lately; both of them working very accurately, if not more ſo than ourſelves, as well as more honeſtly, by the Confeſſion of thoſe of our own Nation. *Secondly*, Cloth is not ſo much worn in theſe Parts of the World, as formerly. To ſecond which Humour of the Times, Page 14. Silks and Stuffs are imported in greater Abundance, ſold at eaſier Rates than formerly, and Manufactures of them ſet up in our own Nation. *Thirdly*, We have more Sheep in *England* than formerly †. *Fourthly*, *Iriſh* ‖ Cattle being prohibited, they breed more Sheep, and bring in more Wool into *England* ‡, beſides what they ſend beyond Sea. *Fifthly*, I omit the many Deceits in Cloth- Page 15. making, which *W. C.* confeſſeth to have been of late ſo very much practiſed, that our Cloths loſe greatly of their ancient Reputation beyond Sea. *Sixthly*, The Sword, Plague, foreign Colonies, and repeopling *Ireland*, have of late Years much diminiſhed our Stock of People: therefore the Conſumption of the Commodities is leſs. For if we do not vend our Wool Manufactures, the

* See Chap. 30, 31.

† 'Becauſe of the draining of the Fens and other Grounds, 'and the laying down of Tillage, occaſioned by the Cheap-'neſs of Corn, till theſe two late Years.'

‖ 'And undoubtedly the forbidding of *Iriſh* Cattle has 'been of vaſt Inconvenience, not only to the beſt of *Eng-'land*, the feeding Lands; but to it all in general. By 'leſſening the Value of our Wool, in which even the breed-'ing Lands receive more Loſs, by the low Price of their 'Wool, than they reap Advantage by this Act in the 'Price of their Cattle. Which Act is alſo injurious to the 'Nation, by ſending our own and foreign Merchant Ships 'to victual in *Ireland*; by the want of Returns from 'thence; by Loſs of our Trade for Hops, Hides, But-'ter, Cheeſe, *&c.*; by diſcouraging Navigation, for it is 'ſaid 100 of our Ships were employed in this Traffick of 'lean Cattle. Thus this Act, which in its Preface deſigns 'the advancing our Rents, and enriching *England*, has 'leſſened and impoveriſhed both; has compelled *Ireland* to 'ſeek a Way to live without us; has made it almoſt inde-'pendent of *England*; has, in fine, almoſt ruined both Na-'tions.'

‡ See Chap. 53.

Reaſon muſt be, either becauſe we make more of them, or becauſe there is leſs of them uſed than formerly. If we make more, (as ſome, with good Reaſon, think we do) the Trade increaſeth; and tho' it being in many Hands, particular Perſons grow not ſo rich, yet the Clothing in general flouriſheth, and the greater Numbers are ſet on Work. But the contrary to this *W. C.* ſeems to affirm. He muſt therefore grant we want Vent for our Cloth when made.

Page 16. 21. But will the prohibiting Exportation cauſe more Vent? If the *Dutch* can work cheaper, better, and more honeſtly, will they not underſell us, and ſteal away our Trade? If the *French* can make Stuffs of their own (as both they and the *Dutch* do) *without our Wool*, and prohibit our Cloth to be ſold amongſt them, ſhall we force them to buy of us? If the *Italians* and *French* make Multitudes of fine and gaudy Silks at a cheap Rate, can we perſuade People not to prefer them? But if we want either Hands to work the vaſt Stocks of our own Wool, and that which daily overwhelms us from *Ireland*, or Vent to diſpoſe of it, what muſt become of the Superfluity of our Wool? Muſt the Farmer and Graſier bear all the Loſs? No, the Landlord muſt abate of his Rent, or have the Farm thrown into his Hands; the Tenant being poor, his Landlord takes the Farm, and at length having, to his Tenants Misfortunes, added thoſe Inconveniences of entruſting Servants, *&c. &c.* muſt ſplit on the ſame Rock; his Wool lies on his Hands 'till he comes into Debt; and in fine, the Farm muſt be ſold, ſince the Wool bears no Price. But the yearly Value is ſo much fallen, and there is ſo much Land to be ſold on the ſame Score, that he deſpairs of a Chapman, *&c.* And this is our preſent Condition.

Page 17. 22. To ſome of theſe Reaſons *W. C.* pretends to anſwer, tho' in ſuch a manner as 'tis hard to conceive what the Man would ſay. He ſays, the principal Commodity, out of which Farmers raiſe their Rent, is not Wool, but the Carcaſe and Corn; and that the more Men are ſet on Work, the more Corn and Fleſh is ſpent; ſo the Farmers and Graſiers Mouths are made up that way. To which it is eaſily replied, that a Farmer makes not up his Rent out of his principal, but all his Commodities: and it is an ill Argument, this is not the principal

Advan-

Advantage or Profit, therefore you may part from it. Beſides, Farmers have Families alſo, which muſt be maintained, their Widows muſt not be ſtarved, nor their Daughters married without ſome Portions. Suppoſe the ſmaller Profits be laid aſide for theſe; yet let me tell you, that a Graſier, whoſe Stock does not conſiſt more than uſually of Beaſts, muſt pay, at leaſt, half, and in ſome Counties all, his Rent with the Price of his Wool; or he will live very uncomfortably. But in that great Rot which happened about five Years ago, in moſt Parts of *England*, (and the like may happen again) I beſeech you, which was the principal Commodity? What was the Carcaſe worth? And for Corn; the low Price of Wool hath made ſo many apply to Husbandry, that uſually Corn doth hardly bear any Price to pay his Rent. *

A low Price for Wool is a Means to render Corn cheap alſo.

23. But four *Fifths* of the Nation, ſaith *W. C.* are maintained by the Woolen Manufacture, which, except he take in the Farmers and Graziers, is an extravagant Proportion. But this Objection is wholly impertinent; the proper Conſideration is, how many more would be maintained by working up the ſuperfluous Wool, that, I mean, which either periſhes, or is clandeſtinely exported. And theſe are not ſo many, as that their Maintenance ought, in any wiſe, to be put in Balance either with the Farmers and Graſiers, or Gentry and Landlords of this Nation.

24. The Cloth for our own Uſe we ſtill ſpend, and the Merchants tranſport more to ſome Countries than formerly: Our preſent Loſs is only in our Trade to *France* and *Holland*. Let there be ſtrict Laws, and ſe- Page 19.

* This is a Circumſtance, which merits the Regard of ſuch of the *Engliſh* Land-owners, who, becauſe their Eſtates conſiſt more in Arable than Paſture, in Corn than Sheep-Lands, are apt to treat the Intereſt of the Wool-Grower, *as ſuch*, in a ſubordinate View, as a Matter of leſs Conſequence; not conſidering how much their *own Intereſt* is involved with *his*, and how liable to be affected with the *low Price of Wool*, in the manner here inſtanced. Conſequently, it is a matter alſo, in which the *Univerſities* are ſomewhat concerned, how little ſoever *thoſe Learned Bodies* may think about it, or how meanly of thoſe that do.

verely executed, for the Uſe of Wool in our own Nation. Let the *Iriſh* Act be repealed, that we may be no more oppreſſed with Wool from thence; and it will be found, neither the Number of Workmen, nor of People, will be leſſened by exporting our ſuperfluous Wool. Nay, I make a great Queſtion, whether the Number of Workmen be leſſened, ſince the Woolen Trade ſicken'd, unleſs by ſome Accident. He that conſiders the great Number of Silk Workers now in the Nation, will either be of my Opinion, or ſuſpend his Aſſent to the contrary.

25. But concerning maintaining the Poor, I have ſaid before [a], that where there is moſt Manufacture, there is, either always, or for the moſt part, more Poor †: the

[a] §. 4.

† This Allegation has much Truth in it, and deſerves ſome Conſideration. For tho' Manufacture, as an undoubted Source of National Wealth and Power, ought by all proper Means to be ſupported and encouraged; yet it is to be conſidered that *improper* Means can do no real public Service. But he who goes about to form his Notions of the Proſperity of any of the *Engliſh* Manufactures, merely from the Numbers of the Poor, and the general State of the poor Rates, in thoſe particular Places, where ſuch Manufactures are chiefly followed; and he, who from the Increaſe of the Poor Rates there, (an Argument ſometimes urged [*]) will conclude a Decay of Trade and Manufacture in thoſe Places, governs his Opinion by a Rule that may, and very often will, deceive him; and by which he may incline to Meaſures that are perhaps improper.

[*] *See* Chap. 76. §. 1. Ch. 145. §. 7.

Thus, if the Land-owner, for Example, is required to ſubmit his particular Intereſt, in any Shape, to certain Dealers in Manufacture, in pretended Conſideration of the Poor employed therein; the *more* ſuch Manufacture ſhall increaſe and flouriſh in any one Place, to the great Emolument of thoſe Dealers; the *larger* Demands, by the ſame Reaſon, may be made upon the Land-owner, under Colour of ſupporting thoſe very Poor, by whom theſe Dealers become rich; the Numbers of ſuch Poor always increaſing, proportionably, as the Trade and Riches of the Place increaſes, where they are employed. But then, as it is poſſible for the Land-owner to make Conceſſions injurious to himſelf and Dependants; ſo there is no Advantage to the Public, in ſo doing. At the moſt, it is only impoveriſhing and depopulating one Part of a Kingdom, to enrich and repleniſh another Part.

Now

The Reaſons are plain: it is true indeed, that the firſt introducing a Manufacture employs many Poor, but they

Now to illuſtrate what is here advanced, concerning the Numbers of Poor increaſing moſt, in thoſe particular Places where Trade and Manufacture moſt increaſes, take an Example from *Briſtol*, the ſecond City of *England*, and which, next to *London*, has made the largeſt Improvements (ſince the *Revolution*) of any one Place in the Kingdom, unleſs *Mancheſter* ſhall be thought an Exception to this.

Votes of the Houſe of Commons.

Martis 22 die Januarii 1744.

A Petition of the Corporation, Governor, Deputy Governor, Aſſiſtants and Guardians of the *Poor* in the City of *Briſtol*, under their common Seal, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, 'That in the ſeventh and 'eighth Years of King *William* the Third, an Act of Parliament paſſed, for erecting of Hoſpitals and Work-houſes 'within the City of *Briſtol*, for the better employing and 'maintaining of the Poor thereof; by which Act, the ſaid 'Corporation had, and ſtill hath, the whole Care of all the 'Poor in the ſaid City committed to them; and thereby 'Power was given them to raiſe, for the Maintenance of 'the Poor, any Sum not exceeding what had then been 'paid in the ſaid City, towards the Maintenance of the 'Poor, *in any of the then three laſt Years*; which Sum 'amounted to, and was then agreed to be, the yearly Sum 'of *Two thouſand three hundred ſeventy-ſix Pounds ſixteen 'Shillings and five Pence*; that ſeveral Years the ſaid Corporation proceeded on ſuch Foot, 'till they found that 'ſuch Sum proved inſufficient; that they therefore petitioned this Houſe for a larger annual Supply; which was 'granted them by an Act of Parliament, paſſed in the 'twelfth Year of Queen *Anne*: By which Act, Power was 'given to the ſaid Corporation to raiſe ſuch further Sum of 'Money, as ſhould not, together with the before-mentioned Sum of *Two thouſand three hundred ſeventy-ſix Pounds 'ſixteen Shillings and five Pence*, exceed the Sum of *Three 'thouſand five hundred Pounds*; that of late Years, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Diligence and Care of the ſaid 'Corporation, by reaſon of the great Decay of Trade and 'Manufactures, and alſo the Loſs of many Maſters and Fathers of Families in the War by Sea and Land againſt 'France and *Spain*, leaving numerous poor Families behind 'them, the *great Increaſe of Buildings and Inhabitants in*

'*this*

ceaſe not to be ſo; and the Continuance of it makes many: and the departing of it to another Place, carries moſt

'*this City*, and otherwiſe, the Poor hath greatly increaſed; 'whereby the ſaid Sum hath proved inſufficient, and the 'Corporation is brought about two thouſand Pounds in 'Debt; that for continuing the Proviſion for the Poor in 'the ſame Method that now is, and which the ſaid Corpo- 'ration humbly conceives to be, far, the moſt beneficial 'and eaſy for this City, there will be wanting an Addition 'of about *ſeven hundred Pounds per Ann.* to the ſaid annual 'Sum this Corporation is already impowered to receive, 'and alſo the further Sum of *two thouſand Pounds* to diſ- 'charge the Debts already contracted, and ſtill owing and 'increaſing.'

Here then we ſee, that notwithſtanding the moſt truly commendable, as well as huſbandly[f] Method of providing for the Poor of this Place; notwithſtanding the notorious Increaſe of Trade and Wealth there, yet the Expence of maintaining their Poor, in the Space of about fifty Years, is become near twice as much as it was before that Period. And this (not regarding what is alledged, *Decay of Trade and Manufacture*, Words of courſe) ariſes out of the Nature of the Thing, their Increaſe of Buildings and Inhabitants, the Conſequence of the Increaſe of Trade there. It ariſes out of the Nature of Society; for where there are many rich, there will in courſe, there muſt inevitably, be alſo many poor.

[f] *See App. to* Cary *on Trade*, 1745.

And therefore, to apply this to the Buſineſs of *Wool*. If the Grower is not to receive the natural Price of that Commodity, ſo long as there is an Appearance of Poverty among the Manufacturers of it, he muſt truſt for that, *ad Græcas Calendas*. In ſhort, this Argument, *The Conſideration of the poor Manufacturers*, or even of the *general Intereſt of the Kingdom by foreign Trade*, as commonly urged for the Grower's receding from his natural Right of not being ſubjected to a Monopoly in this Caſe, proves too much; and if purſued, will take his Wool from him, without paying any Price at all for it; and after that, the Carcaſe too. And therefore they argue more ſubtilly, who contend, that the more the Wool of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* is confined by prohibitory Laws, the better Market has the Grower for the ſame, and the greater are the Demands for *Engliſh* Woolen Manufacture, conſequently the Poor are more fully employed: But as I am clearly convinced that the former is not true, ſo I much doubt the latter; but rather think that in Conſequence of ſuch Policy, *the Woolen Manufacture is*

not

moſt of them with it. But the Decay of it being inſenſible, the Poor by degrees are otherwiſe provided for, and rather mend their Fortunes, than make them worſe by the Loſs of their Trade. But for the whole Nation, why is it not better to ſet up ſuch a Trade, as will employ all our working People, increaſe our Shipping, and enrich our Men, than to endeavour a thing impoſſible, hindering Exportation of Wool? force Nature? tye up the Sea and Winds? to ſtrive againſt the Stream and Current of the Times? I mean the Herring-fiſhing.

25. It has been demanded by ſome, ſince our Clothiers cannot work out our Wools, what is become of the Wool which lay on the Graſiers Hands in *An.* 1666; at which Time, ſay they, there was as great a Quantity unſold, as at preſent. Tho' this I might in part deny; yet I will grant, that Quantities did then lie upon our Hands; becauſe, during the War and the Plague, there was little of it wrought in our own, and leſs exported into foreign Countries; the King of *France* at that Time commanded all the *Engliſh* Wool which came into his Dominions (which was no ſmall Quantity) to be burnt for fear of Infection. And therefore the War and Plague ceaſing, our Wool was again tranſported to Foreigners in greater Meaſure than before. It cannot therefore be concluded, that our Clothiers can manufacture all the Wool of *England*, becauſe at this Juncture we had more, and afterwards leſs Wool upon our Hands. But we ſtill loſe the Point, which is concerning ſuperfluous Wool only. If the Clothiers can work it all, let them do it; we ſhall all rejoice at it: if they cannot, I hope they will acknowledge themſelves unreaſonable, if they oppoſe what we requeſt. Page 21.

26. Laſtly, They urge that the *French* cannot make any, except very coarſe Cloth, without our Wool: which I deny, and appeal to them, who know any thing of the South Parts of *France*, whether they make not good Cloth at, and about, *Carcaſſone*, *Bourge en Berry*, and divers other Places, without the Help of our Wools? Some *Turky* Merchants know alſo, that their *Carcaſſone*

not increaſed, nor the Poor more fully employed; of which more hereafter.

Carcaſſone Cloths find good Prices, and many Buyers in the *Levant*. I would fain know, if thoſe who are ſo unwilling to have Wool exported, will give Security to take off all the Wool yearly growing in the Nation, at a reaſonable Rate, ſuppoſe 10*l.* a Pack *: but if they refuſe, let them not think it reaſonable, the poor Graſier, and Farmer, or indeed the Landlord, muſt bear all the Loſs and Damage. 'Tis too great a Burthen on them, who already bear the chief, and almoſt only Burthen of the Nation.

Page 23. 27. For Remedy, I propoſe

That no Merchant Stranger ſhall be ſuffered to buy any Wool 'till *All Saints*, or St. *Martin*'s Day; but then, that any may buy and export what they pleaſe.

That every Sack of Wool, that is exported, ſhall pay ſuch Cuſtoms to the King, as the Parliament, in their Wiſdom, ſhall think meet. †

CHAP.

* No! that would not comport with the End propoſed, in theſe Days at leaſt, by prohibiting the Exportation of Wool; which is, not to prevent it, (for that is found to be impoſſible) but (which ſucceeds moſt effectually) to keep down the Price of it. I am ſo firmly perſuaded of the Truth of this, that, let Men pretend what they pleaſe about the Matter, I will venture to ſay, if the more knowing of the Manufacturers and Dealers in Wool and Cloth believed, that giving a Liberty for the Exportation of Wool would be any Means of lowering the Price of it, they would be the firſt to petition for that Liberty. If this ſhould ſeem an harſh Judgment, I ſhall have frequent Opportunities of confirming it, before I come to the Concluſion of theſe Memoirs.

† I might here, in Imitation of Sir *Joſiah Child*, (who having publiſhed Reaſons for reducing the Rate of Intereſt, rejoiced to find afterwards, that Sir *Thomas Culpepper*, in a Tract (1621) had been before hand with him in the ſame Sentiments) felicitate myſelf alſo upon finding this one Author much in what is known to be my Way of thinking about this Subject, *Wool*; an Opinion taken up by me, I can with great Truth ſay it, before I had read, or heard of this Tract; and which, at the Time when this Author wrote, was ſo far from being the ſingle Opinion of one Perſon, that we ſhall ſee Reaſon to think, that many Gentlemen then came fully into it [z], ſo as to entertain ſerious Thoughts of carrying it into Execution.

[z] Ch. 57. §. 3.

Yet

CHAP. LVII.

A Diſcourſe, ſhewing that the Exportation of Wool *is deſtructive to this Kingdom; wherein is alſo ſhewed the abſolute Neceſſity of promoting our* Woolen Manufacture, *and moderating the Importation of ſome Commodities, and prohibiting others.*

Licenſed *March* 8. 1676. Printed 1677.

By Thomas Manly, *Eſq*; *

READER,

1. *ALtho' the Opinion debated in the following Papers, be frequently found among worthy Men, and ſuch who truly love their Country, yet I ſhrewdly ſuſpect 'tis of foreign Original* †, *cunningly introduced and trimmed up like*

Yet am I not ſanguine enough to imagine that any thing I can ſay in Defence of it, will be ſufficient to induce ſuch a Change of Meaſures in this Caſe; ſince all Revolutions of Conſequence depend upon a Coincidence of Paſſions and particular Intereſts, more than upon the *true Reaſon of Things*. But this I think I ſhall be able to effect, *viz.* to overturn the main Arguments, both from Facts and Reaſon, which have been hitherto raiſed, and commonly uſed, againſt limiting the Exportation of Wool, by a Duty, rather than by an abſolute Prohibition; which, the Experience of near 100 Years tells us, amounts, at the beſt, *to nothing more than a Limitation*. And therefore, I think, had this Author intitled his Tract, *Reaſons for limiting the Exportation of Wool by a Duty*, &c. (which was the Thing intended by him) and changed the Terms of ſome of his Arguments accordingly, it had been liable to few or no Exceptions.

* This Writer had a Controverſy with Sir *Joſiah Child*, ſome Years before this, about the Rate of Intereſt for Money, in which Sir *Joſiah* ſpeaks of him as a Lawyer. That he was addicted to Sophiſms, is pretty apparent from his Manner of treating upon this Subject.

† See his Reaſon for this Suſpicion at the next Section.

like a Native; the eaſier, in ſuch a Diſguiſe, to cajole Men of no ordinary Circumſpection, and who, in truth, aiming only at the common Welfare of their Country, *would abhor (whatever other Men may do) to betray it to the Intereſt of a Stranger.*

2. *That 'tis of foreign Production, may modeſtly be preſumed, from the Neceſſity* * *the Foreigner hath for our Wool* to mix *with theirs, and without which they can ſcarce make a tolerable Piece of Drapery; from their ſubtle Contrivances to purloyn it from us, even at any Expence and Hazard, and from the ſuperlative Advantages they may gain by Commerce, and employing their People, if once our Laws were repealed, which render it* † hazardous, ſcarce, *and* chargeable *to them: So that you ſee whatever gaudy Diſguizes, for our Advantage, forſooth, the* Adjutators ‡ *have clapt on the Deſign, do but ſnatch off the Vizard, and preſently a Foreigner appears in Maſquerade; who (kind Man!) deſigning our Good equal to the reſt of his Neighbours, and fearing other Operations may work too ſlowly, preſcribes us this infallible Doſe;* from which, good Lord, deliver us.

3. Having

* Was the Neceſſity, here alledged, as the Reaſon for this unkind Suſpicion, a real Truth, yet would it not be concluſive. But what if that ſuppoſed Neceſſity be a vulgar Error?

† If, as ſeems to be here confeſſed, and which I verily believe is the whole Truth, we reap no further Advantage, from prohibiting by Law the Exportation of Wool, than as it is thereby rendered dearer to Foreign than to *Engliſh* Manufacturers, it is very plain that a proper Duty would do the Buſineſs, full as well, or rather, far better. So that, notwithſtanding all that is contained in this Preface to the contrary, and which is only a Copy from *W. C.* (ſee Chap. 50, 51.) the Opinion, he thus ſtigmatizes, may be the genuine Thoughts of a very good *Engliſhman*, as himſelf would be taken to be.

‡ *Adjutators*, a Name then freſh in the Memory of the People, and odious throughout the whole Kingdom, for Reaſons quite foreign to this Buſineſs; but which Badge of Ignominy this Author (rightly judging how many don't diſtinguiſh between *Names* and *Things*) does therefore, at all adventures, endeavour to fix upon thoſe who ſhould appear to favour the Sentiments, which he had undertook to explode.

3. Having lately, in Diſcourſe with ſome Perſons of Quality, obſerved an Opinion favouring the Repeal of the Laws now in Force, reſtraining the Exportation of Wool, (a Diſcourſe of harſh Sound to my old *Engliſh* Underſtanding*) I could not then refrain from offering ſuch Reaſons, as then occurred, againſt a Matter of ſuch pernicious Conſequence, however the contrary may be underſtood by Gentlemen who truly love their Country; what through Incogitancy, or Want of Time, I then omitted, I now, in Love to my Country, offer to Conſideration.

4. I will, to proceed clearly, ſet down in the firſt place, the Reaſons alledged for repealing thoſe Laws. 1. (ſay they) *Our Store of Wool is ſo great, that we have ſufficient for ourſelves, and Neighbours.* 2. *Its free and unreſtrained Exportation will occaſion a great Increaſe in its Price, which will ſuſtain our drooping Rents, and draw conſiderable Sums of Money from abroad, for ſo deſireable a Commodity.* 3. *That tho' we uſe all Care imaginable to prevent its Exportation, yet our Neighbours, by means of our own People, draw great Quantities from us.* 4. *'Tis to ſmall purpoſe to keep our Wool at home, for that* Ireland *ſupplies our Neighbours therewith to a great Degree.* 5. *This Prohibition of Wool is a new Practice, unknown to us, 'till within theſe* 20 *Years; and yet before that Time, both Wool and Drapery yielded the beſt Rates, for above* 60 *Years laſt paſt.*

5. To the firſt I anſwer, That I conceive our yearly Increaſe of Wool is now no greater than when the Rates were double, nay treble, to what they now are; and if ſo, the Fall and Meanneſs of the Price proceeds purely from the Loſs of foreign Markets for our Drapery, and from our own forſaking the Wear of it, and not from the Quantity above what we had thirty or forty Years ago.

6. 'Tis very manifeſt how the Rates of Wool, theſe Page 2, laſt

* Would not any one imagine, from this Expreſſion, that the Author had been oppoſing ſome Attempt of a ſtrange Innovation, inſtead of only talking againſt the Repeal of a Law, which had its firſt imperfect Exiſtence but in the Year 1647, and which was diametrically contrary to the Policy and Practice of ſeveral hundred Years preceding?

laſt * fifteen or ſixteen Years, have gradually fallen from bad to worſe; and how, as by degrees we have increaſed in the wearing of Silk, Camlets, and frowſie *French* Druggets, and as our Neighbours, eſpecially the *French*, have enlarged their Woolen Manufacture, by means of our Wool, which they mix with theirs, juſt ſo have the Rates of this Commodity, with us, ſunk almoſt beyond Belief.

7. Seeing we have a Multitude of People, who for want of Employment, want Bread, and that the Price of Wool here is ſo low, as to tempt us to let out that Commodity, which the Wiſdom of this trading † Age hath hitherto ſecured under publick Prohibitions, as being the prime Fund of our Trade and Navigation, and which is ſo neceſſary to our active Neighbours, that no Laws, how penal ſoever, have yet totally debarred them from it; what do we elſe, by ſuch a Deſign, but declare, that henceforth, being not able to manage that Manufacture, we abandon all Thoughts of an advantageous Commerce, neceſſitate our People to live on us, or dye at our Doors, and ſurrender to our Neighbours that Manufacture, for which we were once ſo notorious? Is not this, at once, *to caſt the Childrens Bread to Strangers*; and to remain for ever without Hopes to maintain, after ſuch a Dereliction, any Manufacture which our Neighbours have a mind to ſnatch from us?

8. If our Neighbours could have Wool, as good to all Intents and Purpoſes, and as plentiful and cheap ‡, from other

* 'Tis juſt ſo long, from the writing of this Tract (which was licenſed *an.* 1676) ſince the Reſtoration; when Wool was firſt legally prohibited to be exported, and no avowed Licenſe granted to the contrary, as by *Oliver Cromwell*. (See Chap. 41. §. 11, 12, 13.)

† He might as truly have ſaid, this Age of Sobriety and ſound Politics, as thus have inſinuated, that this Age, in which paſſed the Act againſt *Iriſh* Cattle, *&c.* was remarkable, in *England*, for any wiſe Laws reſpecting Trade, except the Act of Navigation; about which alſo Doctors differ.

‡ *Plentiful and cheap.* If that was a good Reaſon for an abſolute Prohibition, preferable to all other Meaſures, *Engliſh* Wool was undoubtedly *plentiful*, at this Time, in *England*. It was *cheap* alſo. But *why* was it any thing conſiderably cheaper

other Countries, it might perhaps be adviſable, how far we ought to keep ours at home; but the Caſe being otherwiſe, and they (our Rivals) being not able to carry on that Manufacture effectually without * it, it ſeems a great Miſtake, and dangerous, to ſpare it on any Terms.

9. To the ſecond Reaſon, *That it will occaſion the Rates of* Wool *to riſe, and thereby ſuſtain our drooping Rents*; I anſwer, 1. The Wear and Uſe of Silk, Camlets, *&c.* have ſo far ſupplanted that of Drapery in *Europe*, that we muſt never rationally expect thoſe Rates for Wool, which were given thirty or forty Years ago.

10. If we find bad Markets for Drapery, now Wool is cheap, 'tis very improbable our Neighbours will take ſo much Wool from us, as to raiſe the Price thereof to that Degree, as may ſuſtain our falling Rents; for the dearer we ſell them our Wool, the dearer they muſt ſell their Drapery, and conſequently ſell ſo much leſs; or elſe it will be our Shame, or ill Fortune, that they ſhall vent much Drapery made of dear Wool, and we vent little or none, now Wool is cheap. Page 3.

11. The more Markets our Neighbours ſupply with Drapery, by means of our Wool, the leſs Drapery we muſt export; the Reaſon is, becauſe there is a certain and † determined Quantity of Cloth conſumed by the trading

cheaper there, than in other Countries? Only becauſe of its being ſubjected to a Monopoly; which was not the Caſe of any other Wools. The Wool of all foreign Countries had all the World for a Market, while the *Engliſh* Wools were confined to *England* only; which nevertheleſs was a Market for all foreign Wools whatſoever. And, in truth, was it not hard upon the *Engliſh* Landlords and Tenants, thus to deprive them of a Part of their Properties, by depreſſing the Price of that their native Commodity below its natural Value, and then to make ſuch *unnatural Cheapneſs* of *Engliſh Wool*, a Reaſon for entailing the Hardſhip upon their *Heirs and Succeſſors for ever*?

* See Chap. 45. §. 2. where it is ſaid, 'that other Nations want neither *Art*, nor *Materials*, for this Performance.' See alſo Chap. 105. §. 12, 14.

† This, I venture to ſay, is certain Nonſenſe; the Argument holds equally againſt the Exportation of Leather, againſt Cloths undyed, nay unmade up into Cloaks, Coats, *&c.*

trading World; whence it must necessarily follow, that so much Wool as they receive from us, so much less Drapery we ourselves shall export, and consequently the Price of Wool remain the same it was before those Laws were repealed.

12. Upon repealing those Laws, we may bid adieu to the Exportation of Drapery; the Reason is, because our Neighbours live, work, and navigate, cheaper than we; and having once our Wool in common, must necessarily undersell, and beat us out of Trade: It being a great Mistake to imagine, that the Exportation of our Wool and Drapery may consist together *; and as great a Mistake to suppose, that the pretended † Increase of the Rates of Wool occasioned by an Allowance of its Exportation, may balance the Mischiefs accruing thereby; because a *Pound of Wool manufactured and exported, is of more Worth to us, by employing our People, than ten Pounds exported raw, at* ‖ *double the present Rate*; unless, which is

* How did they consist together, from *Edw.* III. to 1647; and particularly in *Edw.* VI. *Philip* and *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, when, though Wool was allowed to be exported, yet the Exportation of Drapery was probably twice as much as at this Period? Consequently there was *then*, when Wool was allowed to be exported, *more Cloth*, and *less Wool* carried out; and *now*, that the same was prohibited, *more* Wool, and *less* Cloth.

† It may be observed, that this Writer does not deny, but that to allow of the Exportation of Wool, is a Means to increase the Price of it; consequently, prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool, is lowering the Price of it. Add to this, what Sir *Josiah Child* has said (Chap. 48. §. 3.) and then let it be considered, whether a Duty on Wool exported may not be so contrived, as to answer more good Purposes, than an absolute Prohibition can possibly do.

‖ Wool manufactured, upon an Average [b], is reckoned at four times the prime Cost of the Wool. Suppose the Pack of Wool 5 *l.*; this exported in Manufacture, is 20*l.* But ten Packs exported at double the Value, is 100 *l.*; so that, in this last Case, is gained 50 *l.*; in the former, at the most, but 15 *l.* I mention thus much, to shew the Extravagancy of the Author's Proposition, not to depreciate the Benefits of Manufacture, which are too great in themselves to want to be set off by any false Colours.

[b] *British Merchant*, vol. 2. p. 400.

is not reaſonable to imagine, we could introduce ſome other better Employment for them.

13. If our Neighbours tread on our Heels in this Manufacture, begin to ſupply us with their Drapery at home, and to ſupplant us therewith abroad, having only their coarſe Wool, which they mix with ours obtained at dear Rates, (by reaſon of Secrecy, and many chargeable Contrivances always attending a prohibited Traffick *) there is no doubt, when once the Prohibition is removed, and they by that Means plentifully ſupplied therewith, (which in an open and allowed Commerce is always cheapeſt) but that they will ſoon beat us wholly out of Trade, and by Conſequence, e're long, out of all other Commerce and Navigation to boot.

* This Writer, as well as the foregoing Author of *Reaſons for a limited Exportation* [p], &c. are equally miſtaken in one Reſpect, *viz.* the one, in ſuppoſing Wool, at this Time, was not exported in ſuch Quantities as heretofore, and to that imputing the then low Price of that Commodity. The other, in imagining alſo the Prohibition on Wool to have had its intended Effect, of reſtraining it in a great Degree, and that what Foreigners, at this Time, did get, was out of the Fire, *i. e.* at a much dearer Price than formerly: Whereas, tho' they certainly paid dearer for what they got, than the *Engliſh* Manufacturer did; yet they never obtained it in greater Plenty, nor at ſo cheap a Rate. There were, at this Time, ſeveral Reaſons (chiefly the great Underbalance of the *Engliſh* Trade in general, and with *France* in particular) for a Scarcity of Money in the Kingdom, and a conſequential Cheapneſs of all its native Commodities. But beſides all theſe, an abſolute Prohibition on Wool had created a ſort of Monopoly againſt the Grower; and tho' more in Quantity was now tranſported, yet the whole Trade, for buying, being in fewer Hands, and the Number of Sellers remaining the ſame, or rather, by Incloſures, increaſing, the former had the latter more under their Power. And tho' the Author of *Reaſons, &c.* repreſents ſeveral to have had, at this Time, Stocks of old Wool upon their Hands, that was not, becauſe it could not be exported; (for by Sir *Joſiah Child*'s Rule [q], when it has not Vent for Home-uſe, it will tranſpire beyond Sea) but becauſe ſome particular Perſons would not ſubmit to the low Price ſet upon it, as well by clandeſtine Traders, as Home-Manufacturers.

[p] Ch. 56.

[q] Ch. 48. §. 3.

14. Every Pound of our Wool now worth five Pence, (and which makes about a Yard of Broad Cloth worth 8 or 9*s.* †) being exported, and mixt with our Neighbour's coarſe Wool, helps to make three or four Yards of Cloth, which probably hinders us of all that Advantage.

Page 5. 15. To the third Reaſon for repealing our Laws, *That our Neighbours, with the Help of our People, get great Quantities of our Wool daily from us, notwithſtanding*

Page 6. *thoſe Laws to the contrary.* I anſwer, 1. That ſuch Practices are ſhrewd Evidences * of what Eſteem that Commodity is among them, and that what is thus purloyned coſts the Receiver dear. 2. It is better particular Perſons do Acts hurtful to the Public, againſt Law, than for want of a Law, becauſe this latter would reflect on the Wiſdom of the Government.

16. To the fourth Reaſon, *That 'tis to ſmall Purpoſe to keep our Wool at home, for that* Ireland *ſupplies our Neighbours therewith*, &c. I anſwer: If this be true, it is to ſmall purpoſe to permit its Exportation, in hopes to put a better Value upon it; which is the moſt avowed Reaſon for the Repeal.

Page 7. 17. To the laſt Reaſon, *That the Prohibition of Wool is a new Practice, unknown to us 'till within theſe twenty Years; and yet before that, both Wool and Drapery yielded the beſt Rates for above ſixty Years laſt paſt.* I anſwer, That 'tis very true; but it does not follow that the Prohibition was therefore unneceſſary, or that the ſame brought a Prejudice upon either; but that other Reaſons, already given, muſt be aſſigned for the Fall and Meanneſs of the Rates of thoſe Commodities; it being no ways queſtionable, but that the Exportation of our Drapery had long ſince expired, had not the Prohibition of Wool interpoſed. ‡

18. We

† An extravagant Computation this, which I leave to the Manufacturers to correct.

* They are certain Signs, that the Price of Wool, in *England*, was below its natural Value.

‡ *Obſerve here*, Mr. MANLY admits that, for 60 Years before the Prohibition, Wool and Drapery had both ſold well; and that for ſeveral Years ſince, both had been declining: yet, ſays he, not by reaſon of ſuch Prohibition, but for different Cauſes; inſomuch that if the Prohibition had

had not taken Place as it did, the *Engliſh* had long ſince loſt all foreign Trade for Woolen Goods.

But *note*; Tho' he ſays, this Prohibition was neceſſary, yet, in the next Section [r] he dates that Neceſſity no higher than the Peace of *Munſter*, which was the Year after the Prohibition was enacted. Conſequently, the Peace of *Munſter*, tho' made an after Reaſon for, could not be the original *Cauſe* of, the Prohibition: *That* was plainly (as obſerved before [s]) the high Price of Wool in 1647. But tho' this high Price of Wool in 1647 was a *Cauſe*, yet not being the *Reaſon*, according to Mr. *Manley*; it follows, that the Prohibition was enacted *without Reaſon*, *i. e.* without *Need*, therefore, the more probably, without *Uſe*.

[r] *See* §. 18.

[s] *See* Chap. 56. §. 12. *Note*.

For Mr. *Manly* expreſsly owning (§. 18.) that the Prohibition was not wanted before it was enacted, nor (by Implication) 'till after the Peace of *Munſter* (1648) does, in effect, confeſs, that this Law of Prohibition (1647) was enacted, *before it was wanted*; yet does he inſiſt, that there has been, ſince, a Neceſſity for the ſame, wholly new, ſuch as in former Times was out of the Caſe; namely, the *Dutch* and *French* becoming Rivals to the *Engliſh* in the Woolen Trade. And 'tis true, that the *Dutch* and *French* had both, at this Time, become Rivals to the *Engliſh*. But the Queſtion is, how far that Circumſtance was *new*, and whether *England* had been heretofore without Rivals in the Woolen Trade; and if not, whether *thoſe* were leſs dangerous than *theſe*. Now in truth, they were either the very ſame People, under different Names, or different People, under equal Circumſtances.

The Places, where the Woolen Manufacture prevailed moſt, before, in, and for Ages after, the Reign of *Edw.* III. (when I conceive the *Engliſh* firſt became Exporters of Woolen Goods) were, the *Netherlands*, (of which the *Dutch*, at this Time, were a Part, the *French* poſſeſſed another Part) the Southern Provinces of *France*, and *Spain* (*Catalonia*) and the Republics of *Italy*. The former, the *Netherlands*, had the Trade of *Germany*, and the North of *Europe*; the reſt, the South, *Mediterranean*, and *Levant* Trade. Nor could any People be more expert in Manufacture, or better ſituated for their Purpoſes, reſpectively, than all theſe were. And yet, from very ſmall Beginnings in *Ed.* III. the *Engliſh* ſwelled their Woolen Trade gradually, 'till in *Edw.* IV. having reſtrained the Importation of foreign Cloths, they ſupplied themſelves wholly; and in *Edw.* VI. Queen *Mary*, *Philip* and *Mary*, and the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, exported Woolen Goods, to a Pitch, far exceeding what was done at this Time; and not inferior, comparatively, to what has been at any other Time ſince; and this, *without prohibiting the Exportation of Wool*; only charging the ſame with a *competent Duty*; which is a ſhrewd Sign of its ha-

18. We had no Need of ſuch reſtraining Laws, before they were enacted *; for 'till the Peace of *Munſter*, *England* alone enjoyed almoſt the † whole Manufacture of

ving been the *better Policy*, tho' not ſo pleaſing to *monopoliſh Imaginations*. At leaſt, it does not appear that there could have been any Danger (as Mr. *Manly* ſuggeſts) of *England*'s loſing the Woolen Trade, by thoſe Means, under which it had been acquired, againſt the moſt expert and well ſituated, the *Flemiſh* and *Italians*. But by our Author's own Confeſſion, under, and *only after*, a Change of Meaſures, *viz.* from a *Duty* to an abſolute Prohibition in this Caſe, both the *Price of Wool*, and the *Demand for Drapery* in *England*, had decreaſed conſiderably.

* Nor then, nor any Benefit from them, ſince they have been enacted.

† In ſhort, this Writer's Ignorance of Hiſtory, both civil and natural, in this Caſe, betrays him, as the ſame Cauſe has done many others, into Miſtakes: 1ſt, In imagining that before the Peace of *Munſter*, *England* furniſhed *Europe* with almoſt all its Woolen Manufacture; when it does not appear that *England* had ever yet exported to the Value of three Millions annually, in Cloth, and other Drapery; probably not two, or at the moſt not more than two Millions; and that alſo, while *Wool was allowed to be exported*. But can it be thought that *Europe* was chiefly clothed even for three Millions, when *England* alone has been accounted to expend twice the Sum, *viz. ſix Millions* a Year in Woolen Drapery? 2dly, He and others miſtake the Matter, in believing, that *France*, ſince that Time, firſt began to ſet up Woolen Manufacture, altho' they had been uſed to receive Drapery from *England*. No, they then began, for Reaſons of State and Policy, to load the *Engliſh* Draperies with Duties extraordinary, as had the *Dutch*, from the Year 1616. Theſe Duties, in *France*, had by degrees been extended, 'till at laſt they amounted very near to a Prohibition. But this the *French* would not have done, merely in Dependance upon Wool to be clandeſtinely imported to them from *England* and *Ireland*. Reaſon tells us, that would have been a Foundation too precarious to build upon; which muſt have turned thoſe Duties, intended as a Prohibition upon *England*, into a Tax upon themſelves only. As they had confeſſedly the *Art*, ſo neither were they without the *Material*, *Wool*, within themſelves; nor were they then, any more than at preſent, as will be ſhewn abundantly, void of the Means and Opportunity of procuring

[t] Ch. 48. §. 1. *Note.*

[u] *See particularly* Ch. 105. §. 12, 14. Ch. 151—167.

of *Europe*: But *France* (who then also received Woolen Drapery from us) agitated, since that Peace, by a most sagacious Council, and filled with an active and enterprizing People, has unhappily added that Manufacture to the many other Advantages they enjoy for Commerce, above most other Nations; and hath all things propitious for the Management thereof, except fine Wool, such as ours is, to mix with their own: Must our Ancestors Proceedings then, who were governed by Reasons far different from ours, be Precedents to us? Or is it not rather high time to employ our utmost Skill to retain so necessary a Commodity at home?

19. *I have lately met with one Merchant, of no small Pretences to the Intrigues of Trade, who, altho' he will not allow that the Rates of Wool may increase, upon the Repeal of our Laws, (which is the prime Reason alledged for the Repeal of the Prohibition) yet affirms, that if the Prohibition were removed, and due Imposts charged upon Wool, it might thereby, better than by the Prohibition, be either retained at home, or rendered so chargeable to our Neighbours, that we might have sufficient Advantages over them in that Manufacture* *. To which I answer, Page 8.

20. That he which affirms all this, must maintain, that either his Majesties Officers of the Customs will be

 more

procuring the same from divers other Parts. And as for the Story of the possible Advantages, in mixing *English* Wool particularly with theirs, though that Story has been much propagated, it is to be esteemed a mere Fable, as it is commonly represented, and believed.

* I differ in Opinion, from this supposed Merchant, only in one particular Circumstance. He says, 'the Rates of 'Wool will not be increased by the Policy, of repealing the 'Prohibition.' I think they would infallibly; and as it would so far abate the Temptation, on the Part of the *English*, to export Wool; so would it be one Step towards checking an immoderate Desire to the Exportation of it: superadding to which Repeal of Prohibition, a *proper* Duty, in case of Exportation, with some other convenient Measures *, and the Runnage of it would be stopped effectually, and at the same time, the *English* would have all the Advantage over their Neighbours and Rivals in that Trade, which from *English* and *Irish Wool* they are capable of receiving.

* *See* Ch. 179. N° 3.

more industrious to collect the Duties and Impoſts ſo to be charged on this Commodity, than they were to make Seizures of it, by virtue of the Prohibition, tho' they had a Moiety of the Seizure; or that the Exporters will be more conſcientious in paying his Majeſties Impoſts, than they were in obeying his Laws, which prohibited the Exportation, tho' they ventured their Necks into the Bargain; or that Foreigners may be leſs deſirous of it, after the Repeal, than before.

21. The Impoſts muſt be either much *, or little; if much, it may be worth venturing, to ſave the Payment; as is too frequently practis'd in Payments of like Nature; but if they be little, the Payment of them will be eaſily balanced by the Advantages our Neighbours have over us, in cheap Dyet, Labour, &c.

23. *If, to what has been ſaid, it be reply'd, that it is better to export Wool, than neither Wool nor Drapery,* I rejoin, That it is ſo, were it true, that we exported no Drapery, and remained without Hopes of ever ſharing again in foreign Markets: but, Thanks be to God, Matters are not yet arrived to ſo ill Terms, and probably never will.

Page 9. 24. If we do yet more effectually provide to keep our Wool, 'tis a thouſand to one but our Drapery will off: but if once we export our Wool by a Law, (charge it with what Impoſt, and confine it to what Ports and Seaſons you pleaſe, as ſome vainly or ſlily propoſe) we may bid an eternal Adieu to the Exportation of our Woolen Manufacture. To export our Wool, becauſe at preſent we want Vent for our Drapery, is a Choice, like pulling down my Houſe, for fear it may be burnt; or like hanging myſelf, leſt another kill me.

25. *If it be ask'd, What ſhall we do with our Wool, ſeeing its Exportation is of ſuch dreadful Conſequence, and our Drapery ſo neglected at home?* I anſwer, That tho' we cannot impoſe our Drapery on our Neighbours, yet we might eaſily nick ſome of them in their Wines, Brandies, and Bawbles, which are as neceſſary for them to vent, as Drapery is for us, and are as unprofitable for us to receive. And ſurely we might alſo provide yet better to keep our Wool at home.

26. And

* As if there was no Medium to be obſerved in this Caſe.

26. And seeing the Generality of Mankind pursues rather vain Examples than Rules of Reason, and wants Judgment to discern things hurtful; so the publick Authority hath frequently prescribed to the Subject in point of Clothes: and he that considers the Habit of the People at this Day, might suppose Silk, and not Wool, the native Commodity of this Kingdom. *I therefore humbly propose*,

27. That the Laws against the Exportation of Wool be consulted, and if upon Enquiry they appear too short to reach all the Tricks and Contrivances of the enormous Exporters, to provide yet further Remedies against them: proposing especially large Rewards and Characters of Esteem to those, who shall at any time discover the Managers of so ruinous a Commerce; punishing rather the Estates, than the Persons of Delinquents; and where the Criminals have no Estate, and are not apprehended, the Division or Hundred [x]; as in Cases of Robbrey, to be fined, *&c.* † Page 10.

[x] 7, 8 *Will.* III. c. 28. Chap. 76. §. 14. *Note.*

† The above Tract, by *T. Manly*, appearing to have been licensed *an.* 1676, cannot be considered as a direct Answer to that preceding it, *viz. Reasons for a limited Exportation of Wool* [y]; which was not published 'till 1677.

[y] Ch. 56.

This therefore, with other Circumstances, to be gathered from Mr. *Manly* [z] himself, proves the Project, for a *Duty on Wool exported, instead of an absolute Prohibition*, not to have been the casual Thought of a single Person; but that Gentlemen in general, finding themselves extremely aggrieved with the very low Price of Wool, and casting about for some Help in that Case, as also to prevent the Runnage of it, had bethought themselves of this, as the ancient Method, and the proper and likely Remedy; and accordingly, were not a little intent upon it.

[z] §. 1, 2, 3.

That a Scheme of this kind was thus entertained, is one Argument of its being *no irrational Device*; and that this very Measure had been practised successfully enough, for more than 300 Years together, without any material Interruption, is *another Circumstance in its Favour*; but that the Design was not effectually prosecuted, is true; and I thus account for it.

As (which has been observed before [a]) prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, is a sure Means of lowering its Price, even altho' it should not prevent, but rather promote, its being

[a] §. 13. *Note.*

being exported; ſo, in Fact, the prohibitory Laws, in this Caſe, at this Time, did not avail, for preventing the Exportation of Wool. But as there never had been leſs uſed comparatively within the Kingdom; ſo, though Wool had never been cheaper, yet there was never more of it exported, in Compariſon, than at this Period; I mean, ſince the Days of *Edw.* VI. and perhaps, for ſome Time before, altho' it was then allowed, by the Laws of the Land, to be exported.

And, by the way, leſt this ſhould ſeem a Paradox, let it be remember'd for a Certainty (according to that infallible Rule [b] of Sir *Joſiah Child*) that what is not wanted at home, will make its way beyond Sea at *ſome Price*, provided the Owners will (and the Generality muſt) ſubmit to that Price.

[b] Ch. 48. §. 3.

WOOL then, at this Time, beſides thoſe general Reaſons that govern the Price thereof in *Europe*, and the World at large, was cheap, in *England* particularly, as *one Cauſe*, by reaſon of its being *prohibited to be exported*; not becauſe of the *Non-Exportation* thereof: for that was not the Caſe. Another Cauſe of the Cheapneſs of Wool, at this Time, and of all other Commodities of the Kingdom, was, the diſadvantageous [c] Commerce drove between *England* and *France*; which had greatly exhauſted the Stock of current Money of the Kingdom; but which injurious Commerce receiving a conſiderable Check, by an Act of Parliament, in the next Year [d] 1678, the general Trade of *England* revived; and Wool, tho' continuing to be prohibited, yet ſtill continuing to be exported, clandeſtinely; and the Market of *Europe* for Wool, as we ſhall find Reaſon to believe, advancing; that, as well as every other Commodity of the Kingdom, advanced conſiderably in *England*. By which Advance, an entire Stop, ſo far as we can be informed, was put to all Diſquiſitions about the Reaſonableneſs and Utility of *limiting the Exportation of Wool by a Duty, i. e.* of ſubſtituting *a Duty on Wool exported*, inſtead of an *abſolute Prohibition*.

[c] Ch. 54.

[d] Ch. 72. §. 1. *Note. Britiſh Merchant*, vol. 1. p. 183.

And tho' there have been frequent Occaſions, ſince, to conſider that Point, yet the Gentlemen of *England* have either abandoned all Thoughts upon the Subject, or elſe they have employed them wholly about the Means of compaſſing an Impoſſibility. For ſuch I account the Project of confining abſolutely the Wool of *England* within theſe Kingdoms, by prohibitory Laws, without a Regiſtry. And ſuch, I think, Experience has ſhewn it be; and the Reaſons I have already given for the ſame, and ſhall hereafter give, will fully confirm it.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVIII.

A full and clear Answer to a Paper, intituled, Reasons for a limited Exportation of Wool.

By W. C.* 1677.

1. I Shall endeavour to treat the Author with all that Civility, which a Person of Quality doth deserve, (as I suppose he is.) I must needs say, I had no Thoughts of appearing in publick any more. But my Zeal to the Commerce of the Nation (which is at present solely maintained by the Woolen Manufacture of it) raised my Fears so far, as to believe a Ruin is coming upon us, and so far as to doubt also that we may be hastening of it, by those very Means we would endeavour to prevent it.

2. And therefore I cannot now but, like the dumb Child, speak, when he saw a Knife at his Father's Throat; I mean, when we consider the Extremity we are like to be in, from the *French* King's Vigilancy, and the great Endeavours he hath of late used to acquire the making of Woolen Manufacture † in his own Kingdom, and what vast Expence he doth use to effect his said Design, Page 2.

* Tho' *T. Manly* did not, in the last foregoing Chapter, professedly answer the Treatise of, '*Reasons for a limited Exportation of Wool*'; yet this Writer, we see, does take upon him that Task. The Title Page indeed is wanting; but the Tract itself acknowledges it to be the Work of *W. C.*[e]; and I have ventured to date it in the Year 1677. [f] e Ch. 56. f Ch. 50. 51.

† Because the *French* King had now, within ten or twelve Years, given Patents, with other Encouragements, for certain Woolen Manufacturies of particular fine Cloths, made chiefly of *Spanish* Wool, (which Cloths his Subjects had been used to be supplied with, in a great measure, from *Holland* and *England*) this our Author *W. C.* calls *acquiring the making of Woolen Manufacture*, as if the manufacturing of Wool had been altogether a new Work in *France*; and which could not be carried on without *English* or *Irish* Wool; which is a double Mistake.

ſign, both in *France*, and by his Agents here in *England*, even at this very Day; and if he doth this in the midſt of his Diſtractions by Wars, what will he not do, when he is at Peace with all his Neighbours, eſpecially having already gotten ſuch Quantities of our Wool as he hath?

3. And to encourage the Manufacture thereof, the ſaid *French* King (for his Intereſt it is we are about to promote) hath even very lately, *viz.* within theſe few Months, iſſued forth his *Edict* (which is their Law) for the erecting Hoſpitals in many Towns in *France*, both for the ſetting all ſorts of Perſons at Work (that are able) in the Woolen Manufacture, and for the Maintenance of all indigent Perſons, and not to ſuffer a Beggar there.

4. And if the *French* King, how far ſoever he pretends a Friendſhip to us, be deſigning, by all manner of Ways and Means, to undermine our Commerce, and by it to ruin us conſequently in our Trade, and in our Shipping, and in our Strength by Sea, I may, I hope, be pardoned, if I am more than indifferently concerned, or more than ordinarily warm, to think that we ourſelves ſhould endeavour to perfect the *French* King's Deſign, by delivering up the Foundation of ſo rich a Manufacture into his Hands; and by this means delivering up all our Forts, Caſtles, and ſtrong Holds: For that which is moved, is moved principally, if not ſolely, for the *French* King's Advantage; and that which is deſired, if granted, tends only to our own inevitable Ruin.

5. Seeing the Thing deſired is, that after the *French* King hath laid all this Method in a Readineſs to rob us of our Clothing Trade; we, to the end we may ſhew ourſelves not only his good Friends, but his obedient Servants and Vaſſals, deſire that what Wool our Clothiers cannot work out in Cloth, by reaſon of the *French* King's late Impoſition upon it, (to the Breach of Commerce, and conſequently, as much as in him lieth, to the Breach of the Peace with us) may be ſold to his Subjects, that we may not hereafter think of ſo vain and idle a thing, as to preſerve, or recover, our Woolen Manufacture any more, or to preſerve the King's Cuſtoms, or the Strength and Shipping of this great Kingdom.

6. Upon all which Conſiderations, I cannot but humbly entreat our Gentry, (and more eſpecially ſuch as have the Honour to ſerve their Country in Parliament) ſeriouſly

ſeriouſly to reflect upon the Wiſdom of that great Prince *Edward* III. * and upon the Method which he in his Reign uſed, now ſo long ſince, to gain the Woolen Manufacture out of *Flanders* into this Country, and impartially to compare this with the preſent Practice of the *French* King before-mentioned.

7. This General being premiſed, I ſhall now enter upon the Diſcourſe itſelf, the main Aim or Scope of which ſeems to divide itſelf into two Parts; the one tends to prove, that there ought to be a limited Tranſportation of Wool; the other, that by ſuch limited Exportation, rhe Price of it may be raiſed; and by raiſing of this, the Rents of Lands may, and will be increaſed, and his Majeſties Cuſtoms greatly advanced. And if theſe Things were really practicable, I ſhould not only be ſo juſt to myſelf, and juſt to my Opponents, but ſo juſt to the Nation, as not to put Pen to Paper to trouble my Reader, and much leſs to expoſe myſelf to a Stage of Contention, as I am now like poſſibly to do. But foraſmuch as the quite contrary will (if I miſtake not) appear, I ſhall therefore examine and weigh thoſe Reaſons and Grounds, which my Opponent hath brought for thoſe Aſſertions.

8. And firſt, whereas my Opponent doth endeavour to alarm the Nation, *that for want of vending our ſuperfluous Wool abroad, the Farmer and the Landlord are ſo much damnified, that the one cannot pay his Rent, nor the other ſuſtain his Taxes; and that this is the chiefeſt, if not the ſole Reaſon of ſinking our Rents, and throwing up Farms, and the Miſery of the whole Country.* This Conſequence is not allowed; that being aſſigned for a general Cauſe, which is but one among many, and that a very ſmall one. The true Cauſe of the abating the Price of Land, and leſſening the Rents, being to be taken from the Proportion that the ſaid Price always holds to the Rate of Intereſt, as is generally given for Money; which Rate depends, whether we will or no, upon the Plenty of Bullion; and that our Bullion is decayed, and the Decay of this is the main and principal Cauſe of the Fall of our Lands, will eaſily appear to any that ſhall conſider,

* *See* Chap. 5. §. 12. *Note.* §. 34. *Note.* §. 35. *Note. N. B.* Chap. 51. §. 1. *Note.*

consider, First, The great Loss that this Kingdom did receive by the two last *Dutch Wars*. Secondly, The further sad and almost incomputable Loss which it sustained by the firing of the City of *London*, and by firing of a great Part of the *Suburbs* since. And, Thirdly, By the vast Expence that this Nation hath been put to for the rebuilding of the said City and Suburbs *. Fourthly, By the Overbalance of the Trade of *France*, to the Loss of near *One Million of Pounds Sterling* by the Year †. Which four Causes of the Decay of our Bullion, as they are no way to be denied, so neither can it be doubted, that we have, by all these Means, lost near, if not above, the one Half of the Bullion of this Nation, (as it was before the said Accidents did happen) and are daily losing. And if the Bullion be thus decreased, no marvel if the Landlord find it in his Rents, and the Shopkeeper in his Trade, and the Farmer in his Market; and no marvel, if all Degrees of Persons whatever do make a Complaint, how hard Money is to be got.

Page 6. 9. And whereas my Opponent's next Pretence is, *That it is much more the Concern of the Nation to preserve the Nobility, Gentry, &c. rather than regard a few Artificers, and the Merchant.* And whereas he gives many Reasons, why the Nobility and Gentry should be preferred to the Merchant, and Mariner, and Artificer, I humbly crave Leave to say, that the said Argument doth wholly depend upon a Supposition, which is no way fit to be granted, *viz.* as if their Interests were separate, whereas they are one and the same.

Page 9. [r] Ch. 56. §. 12. 10. My Opponent's third Argument is, *That Wool was* 15 l. per *Pack in the Year* 1647 [r], *when it was prohibited,*

* This was Money chiefly spent within the Kingdom; as such, was no Occasion of the then Scarcity, but rather, of a quicker Circulation of Money.

† And by which, Money must have been yet scarcer in the Kingdom, had not the Abundance of Wool, then exported, which is not brought to Account by the Reckonings of those Times, stood the Nation in some stead. For otherwise it is difficult to conceive how there should have been any current Cash left in the Kingdom, when the *French* were supposed to get a Million yearly, and the general Underbalance of the *English* Trade was, some Years [s], found to be upwards of *Two Millions*, or near that Sum.

[s] Ch. 49. §. 2. *Note.* Chap. 43. *P. S.*

bibited, and that in the following Year it was ſold for 16*l.* per *Pack*; *but that Wool hath ever ſince, by reaſon of the ſaid Prohibition, abated, as is pretended, of the Price of it, and is now not worth above* 4 *or* 5 *Pounds* per *Pack.*

In which Argument there ſeems to be a Failure in two Reſpects; one, as if the Wool of the Nation hath never bore any Price ſince the Time of the Prohibition; whereas it may be made appear, that after the Year 1650, Wool bore a very conſiderable Price, from * 10*l.* *per* Pack to 24*l.* *per* Pack, according to the Goodneſs of the ſaid Wool, and continued ſo for ſome time; which ſhews us another Miſtake in his Arguments, as if the Fall of the Price of Wool were wholly to be aſcribed to the Prohibition of it; whereas indeed there are two other Cauſes that are very evident.

Wool from 10 *to* 24*l.* per *Pack.* Page 10.

11. Firſt, the Diſcouragement that hath been put upon the *Clothier*, and upon the Vent of our *Woolen Manufacture* by the *French* King's Impoſitions upon it, to the almoſt utter Prohibition of it, whereby there cannot now be ſo much of it wrought as formerly. Secondly, The clandeſtine Exportations of Wool from *Canterbury*, and Places adjacent, have occaſioned both the Loſs of our Manufacture, and the preſent low Price of Wool †.

12. Another Cauſe of the low Price of Wool, eſpecially of late Years, hath been the neceſſitating of *Ireland* to ſtock their *Paſture Grounds* with *Sheep*, inſtead of great Cattle, and thoſe of the beſt Breed of *England*; by which means, as Wool hath of late Years been more increaſed than ever, at any Time before, within his Majeſties Dominions; ſo the Conſequence of this extraordinary Increaſe (and not any Fault in the *Clothier* or *Manufacturer*) is that which hath not only brought down the Price, but hath occaſioned ſo great a Quantity of

* I ſhould imagine an Error of the Preſs here, and that the Author meant to ſay, from 20*l.* to 24*l.* *per* Pack, or elſe, from 10*l.* to 14*l.*; but more probably the former; in which altho' he might ſpeak ſomewhat too largely, yet are there Reaſons to believe, that about the Year 1652, Wool, in *England*, was at a very conſiderable high Price. (See Chap. 40. §. 18, 19, 20.)

† In this latter Inſtance, there is a ſmall Miſtake, in putting the *Effect* for the *Cauſe*.

of it to be ſent abroad into foreign Parts, as it bears almoſt as ſmall a Price beyond Sea as here; and therefore, that in this Argument my Opponent hath aſſigned that for a Cauſe, which is no Cauſe * at all, may clearly appear, becauſe it is Matter of Fact †, that Wool bore as good

* He had before admitted it to be one Cauſe (§. 8.)

† There is no Argument equal to Matter of Fact; and therefore it is highly proper to examine, in this Place, the Fact which is here alledged, with ſome Care.

The low Price of Wool, in this preſent Year 1677, *viz.* about 5 *l. per* Pack, is a Point confeſſed by this and the two foregoing Writers [h], as alſo that in ſome former Period it had been conſiderably higher.

[h] Ch. 56, 57.

The Author of *Reaſons for a limited Exportation of Wool* [i] imputes this Fall to its having been prohibited to be exported. Mr. *Manly* [k] admits the Plea, but does not allow it to be a good Reaſon for repealing the Prohibition. *W. C.* will not acknowledge ſuch Prohibition to have contributed to this Fall in the Price of Wool; and particularly urges it, as a Matter of Fact, in Defence of his Opinion, *That Wool had bore as good a Price, and better, ſince the Prohibition, than before.*

[i] Ch. 56. §. 20.

[k] Ch. 57. §. 12. *Note.*

The Prohibition on Wool, by Parliament, was, firſt, in 1647, when the Author of *Reaſons, &c.* ‖ ſays (§. 12.) it was 15 *l.* and the Year following (occaſioned by a Rot and the Wars) 16 *l. per Pack*; that the Pretence for then prohibiting the Exportation of Wool was, (§. 16.) that *England* had not ſufficient for its own Uſe.

‖ Ch. 56.

W. C. in this Anſwer, (§. 10.) ſeems to admit the high Price of Wool, at the Time mentioned by the above Author of *Reaſons for, &c.*; but to take off his Objection to the prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool, for the Reaſon of its having fallen, as he ſays, continually, from the Time of ſuch Prohibition, he denies that to be true; affirming, that ſince that Prohibition, *viz.* after the Year 1650, it roſe, ſtill higher, to 24 *l. per* Pack. And Mr. *Manly* (Chap. 57. §. 6.) which may be conſidered as a collateral Teſtimony on the ſame Side, ſays it had been falling 15 or 16 *Years only.*

From all which Accounts (having learned by Experience, in another ſimilar Inſtance of a later Date [l], that it is ill truſting to thoſe Perſons who undertake to relate Matters of this Nature minutely and exactly, at ſuch a Diſtance of Time, as 20 or 30 Years, merely upon the Strength of their own Memories, or the Credit of Tradition, without reciting

[l] *See* Ch. 174.

good a Price, if not a better, after the ſaid Prohibition, as it did before, for many Years, 'till that Breach of Commerce was put upon us by the *French* King, which we before mentioned, and until that unfortunate Act (for ſo I muſt humbly crave Leave to call it) was made againſt the importing the *Iriſh* Cattle, upon Suppoſition that it would raiſe the Price of Land here in *England*; whereas the quite contrary Effect hath been too much experienced, *viz.* that it hath laid ſuch a Foundation for

reciting ſome Circumſtances, as the Ground of their own Belief, by which it may appear to others, that they are not deceived themſelves) I can only conclude with any Certainty, that about the Year 1647, Wool was at a very high Price, ſuch as the Manufacturers did not approve of; that therefore, under the Pretence of *England*'s wanting Wool for home Uſe, the Exportation of it was prohibited by an Ordinance of Parliament [m]: But, whether Wool ever roſe to 24*l.* *per* Pack, is not ſo certain, becauſe there is only *W. C.*'s Word for it. But if it did, it was as likely to be after the Year 1650, as at any other Period; becauſe we have the poſitive Teſtimony of Sir *Joſiah Child*, (*Diſcourſe of Trade*, p. 52. 4th Edit.) that Rents were conſiderably advanced in *England*, about the Year [n] 1652. And Hiſtory furniſhes us with one good certain Account to be given for it, *viz.* a Return of more pacific Times, after much Confuſion, great Spoil and Havock made by civil War in the three Kingdoms, and by which *Ireland* particularly had been ſo far waſted, that, far from rivalling *England* with its uſual Plenty [o], it wanted Stores and Proviſions of all Kinds from thence; which was a Means to raiſe the Markets of *England* conſiderably. But whereas this Author *W. C.* would make the advanced Price of Wool, in this Period, an Argument in his Favour, he is not aware of what we learn from *W. S.* [p] concerning *Licences* then commonly granted, *for exporting Wool*. So that Wool is to be conſidered as not, in effect, *prohibited abſolutely*, 'till 1660, *viz.* 12 *Car.* II. And that coincides exactly with the Time Mr. *Manly* [q] has fixed for the Price of Wool beginning to decline, which this Author would date ſix Years later, *viz.* from the *Iriſh Act*. But here I muſt interpoſe againſt him Mr. *Mun*'s Evidence in 1664 [r], who ſpeaks of Wool being at an exceſſive Price a *few Years* before, and then *lately* much fallen; whence it is further credible, that the Fall of Wool did commence with the Prohibition in 1660, and conſequently that, in truth, the Fact is againſt my Author *W. C.* in this Caſe.

[m] *See* Chap. 39. §. 3.

[n] *See* Chap. 40. §. 22. *Note.*

[o] Ch. 40. §. 18. *Note.* §. 19. *Note.* §. 20.

[p] Chap. 52. §. 1. Ch. 41. §. 11.

[q] Ch. 57. §. 6.

[r] Ch. 45. §. 1.

for the impoverishing *England*, as will not quickly (I fear) be recovered.

13. The next Thing alledged by my Opponent, is, *That a limited Exportation of Wool will be more for the Advantage of our Woolen Trade, and less for that beyond Sea, than the hindering* * *of it hath been.*

* *Prohibiting, it should have been said.*

Which Assertion, if my Opponent had really, and sufficiently, and effectually made good, he might justly have merited the Name, for being the greatest Master of Reason in *England*.

And indeed, seeing a Paradox more strange, and more hard to be conceived, could not easily be stated, I could not but expect that some Arguments more remarkable than ordinary would immediately have followed it; but finding (contrary to my Expectations) nothing beyond a bare Affirmation, that if Strangers had a Liberty to buy what Wool soever they please, they would pay the dearer for it, by much than now they do, and that our *Clothiers* would therefore have it the cheaper, and by this Advantage would be able to undersell the Strangers in their Manufacture.

I say, finding little or nothing more to be brought, either by way of Reason or Argument, to maintain this Paradox, I was soon convinced, that it remained as incapable to be proved, as it was before. And a little to evidence the Improbability of the said Consequence, we shall here offer some few Reasons to the contrary. And first I crave Leave to say, that it is no way likely that the Grower, in any Part of *England*, should not be willing to get the utmost Price for his Wool that he can; and therefore, admitting it should be made unlawful for any Stranger to buy up Wool, 'till such a Time or Season of the Year, to the end that our *Clothiers* might first provide themselves; yet that would not prevent their bargaining sooner by Agents and Factors. *

14. But

* The Author of *Reasons, &c.* did not suppose that the Natives, in this Case, would be able to purchase their Wool any thing considerably cheaper from the Growers than Foreigners would do; but that the Difference of Duty, Factorage, Freight, &c. might make it near, if not full, twice as dear to the Foreigner, as to the native Manufacturer. And this, I think, I shall be able to shew, *viz.* that

14. But, becauſe my Opponent ſeems to put his chief- Page 12.
eſt Streſs in this, *viz. That a large Cuſtom may be put upon all Wool exported; and that at leaſt by this means, they may come to pay double the Price of what our Clothiers do; and not only ſo, but by this means alſo his Majeſty may receive an Advantage by the Cuſtom that is impoſed upon it.*

To try the Weight and Strength of this Expedient, or rather ſhew the Vanity of it. Let us ſuppoſe that 3 *d.* or 4 *d. per* Pound ſhall by Law be impoſed upon all Wool that ſhall be ſhipped out by Strangers, or others, it will not follow, that the ſaid Cuſtom ſhould be paid to his Majeſty for the one half of the Wool, that ſhall be ſo ſhipped out, ſeeing under the Colour of 100 Packs, many hundred * may be exported.

15. But admitting, for Argument ſake, that 4 *l.* was impoſed upon every Pack of Wool to be exported, and the Cuſtom regularly paid; yet I ſee not the leaſt ground for the Opponent's Confidence, that we ſhall, for this Cauſe, be able to underſell the *French* in the Woolen Manufacture. For beſides that the Nature of their Manufacture being but ſlight, which takes up much leſs Wool than ours doth; and a great Part of their Warps being made of their fine-ſpun Linen, and their own coarſe Wool; I ſay, beſides this, the Impoſitions that have been of late arbitrarily put upon all our Woolen Manu- Page 13.
facture in *France*, and conſidering alſo there is no Cuſtom at all put upon Wool there when imported, both † theſe

that a proper Duty is ſuch a Difference, as (with a little further Aſſiſtance, that in a very eaſy and equitable Way, may be afforded to the *Engliſh* Exporter of Woolen Goods) would turn the Scales effectually againſt the Rivals of the *Engliſh* Manufacture, ſo far as to prevent any Injury from our own Weapons, *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* Wool. (See Chap. 179. N° 3. §. 1. Chap. 180.)

* See Chap. 50. §. 13. *Note.* §. 14, 15. *Note.*

† As to ſelling much *Engliſh* Woolen Manufacture in *France*, that was not now to be expected, in this Way. The *French* had reſolved againſt it. So that if the Duty already impoſed by them, had not anſwered their Purpoſe, of prohibiting the *Engliſh* Drapery there, in a ſufficient Meaſure, they would ſtill have increaſed thoſe Duties. And,

will utterly prevent our ſelling the ſaid Manufacture there cheaper than the *French* can make it, though they ſhall

[a] Ch. 57. §. 18. *Note.*

as obſerved before [a], it was no way rational to believe, that the *French*, in this, preſumed upon their being ſupplied, clandeſtinely, with what Wool they ſhould want, from *England* and *Ireland*. It is to be imagined, and will be proved [b], that they had other Reſources, more certainly to be depended upon.

[b] Ch. 151—167.

The Point here to have been conſidered, was, how the *Engliſh* might beſt prevent the Runnage of Wool, and how to regulate that Branch of Trade, ſo as that the *French* might make leaſt Advantage from that *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Commodity, and be leaſt able therewith to rival the *Engliſh* Draperies, in foreign Markets. To which end, a Duty of, ſuppoſe, 4 *l. per* Pack, with all the concomitant Expences of Factorage and Freight, were not Chimera's, but Realities, which might have made *Engliſh* Wool, certainly, near, if not full, twice as dear to the *French*, as to the *Engliſh* Manufacturer. And if this Difference would not, as I am inclined to think it would, have enabled the *Engliſh* to underſell the *French*; the latter would have been, for that Duty, leſs able to have underſold the *Engliſh*, than at this Time, by the Author's own Confeſſion, they were. For he tells you, (§. 12.) they now had it in ſuch Plenty, that it bore almoſt as ſmall a Price there, as in *England*. If that *almoſt* was a Difference of 60 or 70 *l. per Cent.* it ſhews that a Duty proportioned to that Difference, would have availed ſomething; if the Difference was leſs, this Remedy was ſtill more practicable, and would have been of greater Efficacy, to all the Purpoſes wanted. But then, to avoid all this, he inſinuates that the *French* could afford *treble* as much for *Engliſh* Wool, as the *Engliſh* themſelves could. This was true, or it was not. If it was not true, that Part of his Argument ſtands for nothing. If it was true, Sir *Joſiah Child*'s Rule [c] holds good infallibly againſt the Poſſibility of keeping it abſolutely from them; without a Regiſtry at leaſt; and if ſo, the Legiſlature had nothing to do, but to eſtabliſh a Regiſtry of Wool, or to adhere to the Policy of a Duty; only increaſing that Duty along with the Penalties of clandeſtine illegal Exportation; obſerving a due Proportion between the one and the other; yet ſo as to make the former more eligible than that of riſking the Tranſgreſſion of the Law.

[c] Ch. 48. §. 3.

BUT *we are the more free to think that the* French *could not afford any ſuch extravagant Price, as here mentioned,* BECAUSE *we believe the Reaſon aſſigned by this Writer for their*

ſhall give not only double, but treble the Price that we ourſelves do give for Wool.

16. The next Thing alledged by my Opponent is, *That our Forefathers did never prohibit the Tranſportation of Wool, unleſs upon ſome great Occaſion, and for a certain Seaſon, 'till of late Years* *; *for making good of which, a Summary of ſeveral Statutes is brought*, from the Time of *Edw.* III. *downwards to our own Times.*

For Anſwer to all which Statutes, I ſhall make uſe of no other Argument than what my Opponent himſelf hath put into my Mouth; which is, that Wool was for many Ages, by the Wiſdom of the Government, at leaſt very often prohibited; and that whenſoever the Government itſelf ſaw there was a greater Occaſion than ordinary for it, they did always prohibit it †; and conſequently if the Intereſt of the Nation at preſent be ſuch, and the Circumſtances relating to our Neighbours about us, not only ſo great, but ſo inſtant and importune,

their being able ſo to do, (namely, the Virtue of Engliſh Wools *for mixing with* French *particularly) has no Foundation in Truth. And this we more readily believe,* BECAUSE *this ſame Writer* W. C. *appears to have been the Author of this Opinion, about ſeven Years* [d] *before (by a ſmall Improvement upon* W. S. *who had ſaid* [e] *that* 'Spaniſh Wool alone 'would not make Cloth, nor, *for that Uſe*, mix with any 'other than *Engliſh* Wools.') *And tho'* W. C. *is followed by a Number of ſubſequent Writers, yet we impute that, not to the* Truth, *but to the* Conveniency *of his Doctrine, for certain Purpoſes. And we think that Sir* Joſiah Child, (*who wrote ſo lately before him* a Diſcourſe on Trade, *and therein gave a Chapter* [f] *purely upon the Subject of* Wool, and Woolen Manufacture, *and was equally an Advocate for* prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, *as* W. C.) *could not have been ignorant of this grand Reaſon for that Policy, had it been true; and if it had, would not have concealed it. His Silence therefore in this Particular, we preſume, is a ſtronger Negative Teſtimony in this Caſe, than all which* W. C. *and his large Tribe of Followers, have ſaid for it.*

[d] Ch. 51. §. 3, 4.

[e] Ch. 41. §. 4.

[f] *See* Chap. 48.

* *W. C.* is guilty of a very material Omiſſion in this Citation from the Author of *Reaſons for, &c.* who adds [g], 'Temporary Prohibitions there have been, but thoſe of ill 'Conſequence to the Nation.'

[g] *See* Chap. 56. §. 17.

† This is not only a very unfair Perverſion of his Oppo-nent's Words, but a groſs Miſrepreſentation of Hiſtory in this Caſe.

that, these two considered, there will be much more Reason, and much more Necessity for the prohibiting of it now than formerly; then, all that my Opponent labours at in producing Instances of other Kinds, and where the Circumstances are not the same, falls wholly to the Ground.

17. For the clearing of which, let us consider that the Circumstances peculiar to this present Time is, that we have not only been possessed for many Ages of the manufacturing of our Wool, but have of late so improved * our Trade and Commerce by it, that we have exported it by Shipping of our own, not only into *France*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, but into *Italy*, *Turkey*, and to the most remote Parts of the World †.

Page 16. 18. The next Thing alledged by my Opponent, is, *That the Cause of the Decay of our Clothing doth not lye in the Exportation of our Wool, but on the contrary*, viz. ‖ *because our Wool is no more freely exported, than it is.* And that we may be sure not to mistake his Sense herein, he further adds, ‡ *That inasmuch as the Decay and Fall of our Manufacture comes properly from the Prohibition of our Wool; the stopping or hindering therefore of our Wool to go out, is but the applying to our Disease a wrong Remedy.*

Which Argument, if it had been brought by a Stranger, we should immediately have turned it into Merriment; for nothing can be more contrary to Truth than what is here alledged.

For

* Improved! from exporting Drapery, to the Value of near *Two Millions per Ann.* as in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, to the Exportation of the Value of Nine hundred thousand Pounds, or less, within the Compass of a Year [k], now in *Car.* II.

[i] Ch. 19, 25.

[k] Ch. 86. §. 4. *Note.*

† The Question here, so far as the Business of Wool is concerned, is not, to what Parts it has been exported, but in what Quantity?

‖ The latter Part of this Sentence, *viz. Because, &c.* are not the Words of his Opponent, (see Chap. 56. §. 20.) but instead of them he says, 'For the Decay (if any be) *is since* 'this Prohibition.'

‡ Not what *W. C.* has inserted, but as follows, *viz.* 'So that by hindering this, we apply a wrong Remedy to 'the Disease.' *Here, by the word* hindering, *is evidently meant* prohibiting.

For if it be true which my Opponent ſaith, that the Decay of our Clothing Trade is not from our Exportation of Wool, but rather the contrary, becauſe no more of our Wool is carried out raw; it muſt follow then, that by how much the more our Wool is thus exported, by ſo much the more our Manufacture will not only be preſerved, but encouraged *; and the Reaſon for this muſt needs be, that if we are once rid of our Wool, and have got a good Price for it, we need not trouble our Heads ſo far as to imagine, that they who buy it, will do any thing with it, but only will lay it up to look upon it.

* The Matter in Diſpute, was, the Expediency of a limited Exportation of Wool; in ſhort, of a Duty on Wool exported, inſtead of a *Prohibition*. The Advocate for which Meaſure had pleaded for it, upon ſeveral Conſiderations, chiefly that of Benefit to the Grower; the Price of Wool having fallen by degrees, ſince the Prohibition, *two Thirds*; at leaſt, ſeven Parts in twelve; and which Prohibition had no way profited the Clothier; on the contrary (he ſays) whatever Decay there was in that Trade, had come ſince the Prohibition, if not alſo in ſome meaſure by it. And I think he was chiefly miſtaken, in imagining the Prohibition on Wool to have prevented the Exportation of it, (which at this Time certainly it neither did, nor ever will, for a Continuance; I mean, without a Regiſtry.) His Adverſary *W. C.* is equally miſtaken, in admitting the ſame thing, *viz.* that the Exportation of Wool was any way conſiderably prevented by the Prohibition, altho' ſuch Quantities of it were then, by his own Confeſſion, exported (§. 12.) that *Engliſh* Wool was almoſt as cheap in *France*, as in *England*. And further, the ſaid *W. C.* not diſtinguiſhing between a Permiſſion, barely to export Wool upon certain unequal Terms to the Foreigner, and that of actually exporting it at pleaſure, upon quite equal Terms, would repreſent his Opponent as childiſhly endeavouring to cram this Abſurdity he here mentions, upon his Readers. Whereas, (abating for the ſingle Miſtake, in ſuppoſing Wool, then, to be low (as one Cauſe) for want of a larger Exportation, inſtead of its being ſo (as was the Caſe in a great meaſure) for want of a freer Market, *i. e.* becauſe of its being ſubject to a kind of Monopoly of clandeſtine Traders, who nevertheleſs exported largely.) I think he is by far a more conſiderable Writer than *W. C.* and has much the Advantage of the Argument; altho' this latter is diſpoſed to make him, if he could, appear quite weak and ridiculous.

Chap. 56. §. 11, 12.

Page 19. 19. As it is clear then, my Opponent hath wholly miſtaken himſelf in the Cauſe of our Manufactures Decay; ſo to evidence yet farther the Palpableneſs of this Miſtake, we affirm that it is Matter of Fact, that our *Woolen Manufacture did increaſe greatly*, after the ſaid Prohibition of Wool in the Year 1647, for at leaſt 16 or 18 * Years together; and not only increaſed, but bore

* This Writer has again recourſe to Facts. — Eighteen Years, from 1647, brings us to 1665, the Year before the *Iriſh Act*. And ſo long, he would have it believed, the Trade of *England* in general, and the Woolen Trade in particular, had flouriſhed. For Proof of this, he appeals to the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and to the Rents of *England*, *&c.* Now granting what he advances, to the Year 1660; yet it has been ſhewn before, from *W. S.*[l] that Wool, in this Period, was not, in *effect*, prohibited, but exported by *Licences*. And for the intermediate Space, *viz.* from 1660 to 1665, 1ſt, The Cuſtom-Houſe Books are againſt him. They tell us[m], that in 1662, the whole Exports from *England* to all the World, were not more than £ 2,022,812 04 00

The Imports — — 4,016,019 18 00

So that the Imports not only exceeded the Exports — 1,993,207 14 00

[l] Ch. 41. §. 11.

[m] *See* Ch. 43. *P. S.*

but the whole Exports very little exceeded what the Value of Woolen Manufacture alone, annually exported from *England*, had, in ſome former Periods, probably amounted to, *during the allowed Exportation of Wool*.

Further, Mr. *Fortry* in the Year 1663 ſays[n], 'the Clothing Trade in *England* was ſo decay'd and adulterated, 'as to be almoſt out of Eſteem both at home and abroad.'

[n] Ch. 44. §. 6.

2dly, With regard to the Rents of *England*, though we have proper Teſtimonies ‖ of their being much advanced between the Years 1652 and 1660, they had certainly fallen again very much, before the *Iriſh Act* in 1666; foraſmuch as Sir *William Temple* particularly relates[o], that the Decay of Rents was preciſely the Occaſion of that Act. And therefore, as the Truth of Facts was againſt this Author (§. 12. *Note*) in his attempting to prove that *Wool* had not fallen, but rather given a better Price, for ſome time after the *Prohibition*, than before; ſo they are equally againſt this his ſecond Aſſertion, that the *Woolen Manufacture* did increaſe in *England*, after, and by means of, *the Prohibition*.

‖ Ch. 40. §. 22. *Note*.

[o] Ch. 53. §. 6.

And

bore a good Price. To justify what I say, I appeal for the Truth of it, not only to the Custom-House Books, and to the Quantity of Woolen Manufacture there entered, but to the Gentry themselves; and to the Price that Land bore, and Victuals bore for many Years together after the said Prohibition, and to the Plenty of Money that was then in the Land.

20. Yea, as our Manufacture did increase for many Years together, after the said Prohibition of the Exportation of Wool; so it had to this Day still increased, had not those Accidents happened, that laid so effectual a Foundation for the Ruin of it, as it was neither in the Power of the *Clothier*, nor in the Power of the Grower, to prevent; I mean, those new and immoderate Taxes, which were laid upon our Manufacture by the *French* King, on purpose to encourage his Workmen to gain the said Manufacture from us; and on purpose to prevent our Cloths and Stuffs from being brought into his Country, although we yearly take of his Commodities to the Value of above a Million of Pounds *Sterling*. And I mean, in the second place, the making of that unfortunate Act against the Importation of *Irish* Cattle, which hath not only tended to the Ruin of the Grower, but to the Ruin of the Clothier, and to the Ruin of the very Trade of *England* itself; and which, if it should continue

And here note, That it was not sufficient, to assign other Causes for the Decay of the *English* Exportations of Woolen Manufacture, which were not to be supposed to have suffered by the *Policy, of prohibiting the Exportation of Wool*. But as the *Price of Wool* had been sensibly lowered by the *Prohibition*, abstracted from all other Causes; and as *lowering the Price of Wool* was undoubtedly the End thereby proposed, as *an Encouragement to the Woolen Manufacture* in general; it was therefore incumbent upon the Advocates for *that Policy*, to shew that tho' the Wool-Growers had suffered in their particular Interest, yet the Nation in general had found its Account therein, *viz.* by an *extraordinary Increase of the Woolen Manufacture*, on the score of *such Prohibition*. But this plainly was not the Case, at the Time now under Consideration; neither, I think, at any Time since, although the *English* Exportations, and particularly of Woolen Manufacture, have been since considerably increased, as will be shewn in its proper Place.

tinue to ſtand unrepealed, muſt neceſſarily and inevitably ruin, more and more, both the *Gentry*, *Merchant*, and *Clothier* every Day.

21. And therefore as a further Proof to what I ſay, I ſhall give one Inſtance inſtead of many, and leave the Truth of it to be ſtrictly examined and judged accordingly; which is, that ſince the ſaid Accidents have befallen us, (I mean the *French* King's Impoſitions, and that Act againſt the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle) *Exeter* alone hath loſt of what it did formerly vend, near, if not above, three hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling* every Year: and if we ſhall reckon proportionably all other Cities and Counties, we ſhall then eaſily ſee there is a juſt Ground for the Decay of our Woolen Manufacture, and for the Fall of the Price of our Wool by it, and for the Fall and Ruin of our Rents; not, as my Opponent alledgeth, by reaſon of the Prohibition of tranſporting our Wool, but truly and really by reaſon of the Increaſe and Multiplication of our Wool to that Degree, that the Exportation of it hath almoſt been neceſſary *.

22. But here my Opponent may perhaps ſay, That, after all, I cannot deny but there is a Surplus of Wool, which cannot be wrought up by the *Clothiers*, and that I offer not one word how it ſhould for the future be diſpoſed of.

To which I anſwer, Firſt, That it appeareth not by any thing which my Opponent hitherto hath proved, that the *Clothier* either cannot, or doth not, work up the Wool of the proper Growth of *England* to the Full of it. But if a far greater Quantity of Wool be brought into *England* from *Ireland*, than ever before was brought, until of late Years, as the Clothier cannot be reſponſible for his not buying up all the Wool which is ſent into *England*;

[p] Ch. 46. §. 5. *Note.*
[q] Ch. 66. §. 23.
[r] Ch. 43. *P. S. Note.*
[s] Ch. 44. §. 7.
[t] Ch. 45. §. 2.
[u] Ch. 53. §. 6.

* I muſt here remind the Reader, that the *Iriſh Act* was paſſed in 1666 [p], and that the *French* laſt great Impoſition on *Engliſh* Drapery was in 1667 [q]. But from the *Engliſh* Exports in 1662 [r], the Trade of *England* appears to have been greatly decayed; and by Mr. *Fortry* in 1663 [s], the Woolen Manufacture particularly; and by Mr. *Mun* [t] in 1664, the Price of Wool had then lately fallen conſiderably; and by Sir *William Temple* [u], the Rents of *England* had ſunk greatly, in Conſequence of all this, *before the Year* 1666.

England; ſo neither can he, or ought he, to be reſponſible for the Glut proceeding from the Importation of it, or for the Cheapneſs of the ſaid Wool, by reaſon of the ſaid Glut.

23. If then the proper and only Way for removing all evil Effects, be to remove their reſpective Cauſes, the proper Remedy for removing the Cheapneſs of Wool on the one hand, and recovering our Trade on the other hand, muſt neceſſarily be the ſtopping the exceſſive Growth of it in *Ireland*, and as ſtrictly ſtopping and reſtraining the Export of it from *Ireland*, and from hence.

CHAP. LIX.

A Letter from a Gentleman in Ireland *to his Brother in* England, *relating to the Concerns of* Ireland *in matter of Trade*, 1677.

1. *Honoured Brother*,

I Have lately received yours, wherein you give me Account of the Fall of your Rents, the Cheapneſs of your Wools, the Decay of your Manufacture in *England*; and you aſcribe the Cauſe of it principally to *Ireland*; which is a double Melancholy to me, that you, firſt, who are the Head of our Family, ſhould find yourſelf ſo ſtraitened, that you cannot ſupport its Dignity with the Eaſe and Plenty that you did formerly: but that I, then, who have for you all the Affection and Tenderneſs of ſo dear a Relation, ſhould be engaged in a Country and Intereſt oppoſite, as it ſeems, to yours, and acceſſory to your Ruin; there is nothing worſe could happen to me, than that it were real. And yet, did I find myſelf in a more happy Condition, I could better reliſh your Complaints; and my Opportunity of ſerving you, would extinguiſh in me all other Senſe of your Misfortunes. I ſhould take an innocent Pride out of a younger Brother's Fortunes to ſupply the Elder: For as in

in Timber, the Sap deſcends in Winter; ſo it is but natural and reaſonable, that in hard Times, the Branches ſhould pinch, to ſuccour the Root of the Family. But alas, the Caſe with us is far otherwiſe; ſo deſtitute of affording you Help, that we can ſcarce find ourſelves a Subſiſtance: but ſo abſurd is our Calamity, that we labour under abundance of Want in a moſt plentiful Country. And what aggravates it the more, is, that you, in *England*, concur to it; not by Accident only, but upon Judgment and Deliberation; as if you had entertained a Maxim of deſtroying us for your own Preſervation, and pulling off that Twig, which at one time or other might ſave you from ſinking. Your Head akes, your Heart trembles, your Liver ulcerates; yet all your Diſeaſes and Diſtempers muſt be attributed to *Ireland*; which lies and ſwells, you think, like the Spleen, upon the Side of *England*. Whereas, if you could cut it off, you would find yourſelves, by the Loſs of ſuch a Receptacle, much impaired, but no Advantage either in your Health or good Humour. It is you in *England* only, that have been the Cauſe both of your own and our Sufferings, and have a mind, I doubt, to continue ſo. But that I may not ſpend your Time in Recriminations, (which is the Solace of the Deſperate) I ſhall ſtrive to convince you of it by Reaſon, (which is the Remedy of the Curable.) And therefore I ſhall diſcourſe it with you with that Freedom, which the Neceſſity of the Caſe requires, and which is moſt ſuitable to the Intimacy of our fraternal Relation; the beſt Emblem of that Correſpondence, which were to be wiſhed between the two Nations for their mutual Happineſs.

2. And becauſe what is freſheſt in Memory, doth moſt affect the Underſtanding, I ſhall date this Argument no further back than the King's bleſſed Reſtauration: that *Caroline* Period, from which, as a ſecond Creation of our leſſer World, it were proper to reckon a new Stile; and, were it of the ſame Labour, to have reformed both the Times and the Calendar. That ſeaſonable Return had filled all Minds with ſo general a Satisfaction, that it ſeemed no Man had Cauſe, or Leiſure, or Inclination, to wiſh worſe to others, or themſelves better. And as the reſt, ſo we in *Ireland* (happy becauſe contented) lived in a Condition tolerable to ourſelves,

and

and ſerviceable to *England*. For without buſie Proſpects of greater Advantage, we gave ourſelves in a manner wholly to that harmleſs and primitive Courſe of breeding Cattle; which we tranſported to you, and ſold at eaſy Rates in your Markets: wherein we had but that ſingle, you a manifold Profit; both in the Groſs, by ſtocking your Grounds therewith to feed them; and in the Retail, by thoſe ſeveral Commodities that ariſe in the Slaughter; the Tallow, the Victual, the Hides, and the Fleeces; all which turned to Account of the reſpective Trades therein concerned. And which is yet more weighty to conſider, we did not hereby drain away your Money to hoard it up; but very ſimply and honeſtly, as ſoon as we had received it with one hand, we laid it out again with the other, with you for your Manufactures, or for the foreign Commodities, of which you were our Merchants; or elſe it went to furniſh ſuch of our Nobility, as reſided in your Court, for their Expences. And it requires much Subtilty to invent what more you could have deſired of us, and how either in Commerce we could be more ſubſervient, or in Policy we could be more dependent upon you, than by this means we were rendered, without attempting or dreaming on our ſide of any further Intercourſe: all the Benefit of *Ireland* redounding to you, while to us there remained no more but a bare Livelihood. And yet after ſome Years that Things had continued on this Tenour, all on a ſudden, and if we were rightly informed, not without ſome Repugnance at firſt in his Majeſty, the Importation of our *Iriſh* Cattle is by Act of Parliament prohibited. And (to clench it the faſter, and to ſet (if I may ſo ſay) a Spell upon his Majeſties Power and Prudence, leſt he might upon Occaſion redreſs it for the future) it is in a magical and ſevere Term of Law declared to be a publick *Nuſance*. What could be the Reaſon, it is not for me to conjecture, much leſs to determine. But whatſoever leſs and inviſible Spring might, as is uſual in other great Affairs, animate this Motion, it cannot be otherwiſe in ſo numerous and prudent an Aſſembly, ſo involved in the Intereſt of their Country, and ſenſible of their own, but it muſt have been repreſented under the moſt ſpecious, colourable, and neceſſary Arguments; That by this Importation, your own Breed of Cattle decayed, your

Markets

Markets were glutted, and your Rents ſtarved. Wherein give me Leave to ſay, that it happened to you, as with Men who having run themſelves out, do ſet up late for Frugality; they entertain themſelves with every Project that firſt preſents itſelf, and what is next does always ſeem moſt reaſonable. For admitting that ſome of your Counties might be prejudiced by the Importation of our Cattle, yet whatſoever Profit accrued to others by it, did, upon the mutual Neceſſities of all, circle into the common Stock of your Nation. And it ſeems to me, that whatſoever private Obligation a Parliament-Man hath to the Place where he is elected; yet when once he comes to ſit, his Truſt and his Mind is enlarged, and he does no more conſider himſelf as the Politician of a *Shire*, or the Patriot of a *Borough*, but as a Repreſenter of the Univerſality. Whereas otherwiſe, if any County, one, or more, chance to be more fertile than others in Members of Parliament, and they act by ſuch narrow Meaſures, the Deciſion would be by Multitude, not by Reaſon; Arithmetick would be Logick, and the greater Herd, as among Cattle, would carry it. You beſt know how that Matter went, who are one of them; and however your Opinion ſtands in other things as to us in *Ireland*, yet I need not divine your Thoughts on this Queſtion, ſerving as you do for ———, and ſo the Bias of your Intereſt there corroborating the general Rectitude of your Judgment. And if the Buſineſs were now to tell Counties, I have been lately aſſured by ſome from *England*, that thoſe Counties that find themſelves not benefited, and thoſe that are really aggrieved by this Act, do by this time, upon Experiment and ſecond Thoughts, make up the greateſt Party. For, if we account, like Merchants, by Profit and Loſs, all the Profit that can be made by this Act, returns only to ſuch Counties which are proper for breeding, or the deeper feeding of Cattle of your own Growth; whereby they do but raiſe the Price upon their Neighbours, and monopolize the reſt of your Nation. Theſe other, in the mean time, have their Grounds thrown up into their own Hands, which uſed to be ſtocked with our leſſer Cattle, that ſerved them, as ſmall Money does poor People, for Change at the Market. And your whole Nation hath hereby loſt, in great meaſure, the Vent of their home and foreign Commo-

Commodities to *Ireland*, and wholly the increasing Product to you, of our Cattle in *Specie*. But as to the political Point, you did herein, as much as in you then was, cut off all that stronger, as more natural Dependance of that Kingdom upon yours, and necessitate yourselves to govern it rather by the Force of Authority, than by the influential Benignity of Interest. It were too tragical to describe to you the Surprize and Astonishment with which the first News of that Act seized and affected us. Our Condition did contrarily resemble his in the Fable, who saw every thing turned into Gold that he should have fed upon; but we could only feed upon that, which before we converted into Money. It may best be compared and conceived by the decrying of Coin, whereby he that was one Day Master, as he imagined, of great Wealth, finds, the next Morning, nothing but an invaluable Lump, wherein to contemplate his Poverty. What was to be done in this Exigent? when we were reduced to the perfect State of Buccaneers, to kill Cows, and surfeit ourselves on the Carcases, that we might sell the Hides to the next charitable Foreigner that chanced to visit us.

3. Being thus to begin the World again, and constrained to look out for a new Way to sustain Nature, we took Counsel of Necessity. Our Commodities, out of which we could subsist, were either our Corn, our greater Cattle, or our Sheep. For the *Irish* Corn, it could only serve us to market with among ourselves; being, by reason of the Climate, not so large, firm, and dry a Grain, that it should be proper for Transportation. And consequently we ploughed no more than might serve us yearly from Hand to Mouth for our own spending. For our Cattle, we continued the breeding of them, and employed Part of our Grounds to feed them: Finding, for the Proportion, more Advantage by victualling it out to Foreigners, than what we had formerly by their Wholesale in *England*. But that Vent was nothing equal to what those Tracts of Land, that lay idle before us, would have furnished; and therefore we betook ourselves more generally to the grazing of *Sheep*; in which you know, how numerous Flocks, and wide Pastures, are managed by one Shepherd. So that this Course did best suit with our Purse, that could not answer any more

expensive

expenſive Profit; and with our Diſpoſitions, that are not made for laborious Improvements; and with your Jealouſy, who interpret our Induſtry as Theft, and that we defraud you, as oft as we make the leaſt Attempt to work out an honeſt Living. So that the *Wool* now was the only Thing that we had to reſt upon; and you were provided with ſufficient Acts of Parliament to be the only Mart for it: It being made Felony to tranſport it into foreign Parts; and Confiſcation to import it to you, otherwiſe than crude and unmanufactured. And yet, having thus again patched up a ſlender Subſiſtence, and Method of being, we had recompoſed ourſelves, enjoying Poverty and Eaſe, and leading an *Arcadian* Life, ſolaced among the Sheep with our Paſtorals. We had left muttering any more at your Act againſt *Iriſh* Cattle, and only ſmiled, as in a Triumph, not of Malice, but of Reaſon, to ſee that you were now the Perſons aggrieved; and if not yet convinced of the Cauſe, yet labouring under the Effects of it. For, whereas ſome Counties only could complain of our Cattle, the *Cheapneſs of Wools was become a general Incommodity to your whole Nation.* For, I believe, as you were ready enough to imagine, that by importing upon you *all the Wools* of this Kingdom, yours were partly choaked; having more of your own upon your Hands already, than, in the preſent State of Trade through the World, your own Manufactors could work, or your Merchants vend beyond Sea, although, we paying the King's and Lieutenant's Duty, which is at leaſt two Shillings for every Stone, beſides the Fraught of the Ships that bring it over, and the other Charges of Factorage and Market, are competently guarded from the Danger of underſelling you. For, by this means it is eaſy to compute, that in reſpect to your Wools, ours are ſold at that which Merchants call *Fifty per Cent.* Diſadvantage; yet, as the Trade of our Cattle injured you before, ſo now *our Wools* grow toward a *Nuſance*: what was lawful for us, and profitable to you, you prohibited; what you conſtrain us to, you accuſe: you are neither well full nor faſting; I know not what you would have, unleſs you could furniſh us with a Breed of Sheep that bore no Fleeces. Is it not the ſame, that thoſe Fleeces bear no Price? But though thoſe Gentlemen among you, whoſe Rents depend much upon that Product,

Cheapneſs of Wool a general Incommodity to England.

Product, do doubtleſs find their Eſtates, by the late *Cheapneſs of Wool*, much reduced; yet I ſhall, e're I cloſe this Letter, ſhew you, that our *Iriſh* Wool is the leaſt acceſſory to it. And however, your Kingdom doth ſo abound with native Commodities, (which were you not ſo in Love with the foreign, would multiply to you in Treaſure and Bullion) that you might well, or much better than we, diſpenſe with the common Calamity upon that Trade, who have ſo many more to truſt to: whereas this is in a manner the only one that is left us, and that too fails us. For it is not to be preſumed, that, while your *own Wool* ſells not, you will, out of good Nature, prefer ours at a Market; nor that you are ſo new-fangled, as much Strangers as you make us, that you will enquire out for *la Laine d'Irlande*, and make it your Mode to wear it. But it remains a mere Drug, although you are thoſe that will be the Ingroſſers. In this Condition, miſerable to ourſelves, and yet ſubject to your Envy, what can be propounded for our Relief, or toward your Satisfaction? Shall we ſteal our Wool beyond Sea? which yet were but to ſteal our own Goods; that you will ſay would be a greater Prejudice to you. Shall we manufacture it at home? That, although a double Benefit to us, would ſeem to you a double Inconvenience. And yet there is no third Way left, unleſs, like your Spiders, to weave out our own Bowels.

4. And here it may not be amiſs to inform you, ſomething better than I perceive you are at preſent, concerning the State of our Manufacture in *Ireland*: not ſo much becauſe it is in itſelf grown ſo conſiderable, that it deſerves mention, (for of all Virtues, Induſtry is the laſt of which you will have Cauſe to accuſe us) as by reaſon it hath of late made a great Noiſe with you, as things uſually do that are moſt empty. About ten or twelve Years ago, (before your Act againſt the *Iriſh* Cattle) ſome Weſtern Clothiers finding, ſo early, and upon other Reaſons than are now ſuborned, that Trade decaying, and many of them reduced to extreme Poverty, removed themſelves and their Families over into *Ireland*; invited by the Cheapneſs there of Wool, and of Livelihood. Theſe erected then a Manufactory (great in reſpect to *Ireland*) at *Dublin*, which hath been carried on ever ſince, and increaſes daily. There came alſo over, much

Woolen Manufacturers came and ſettled in Ireland, *when, from* England, *and* Holland.

much about the same time, sixty Families from *Holland*, setting up another at *Lymerick*; which, by Occasion of the succeeding Wars, decayed. But, after these, more of the *English* Clothiers came and fixed about *Corke* and *Kinsale*, where they continue, and are grown not inconsiderable. Some *French* have since resorted to *Waterford*, to make Druggets there, and other Commodities of their Fashion. And about a Year or two ago, some Merchants of *London* raised another Manufacture at *Clonmel*, managing it by their Agents. Some small Attempts of the like nature, may be met with here and there in the Countries, but not worth speaking of. These are the Crimes of which we are guilty, before any Law to prohibit us: it were more allowable to plant Poison than Manufacture with us, and we lie, it seems, under such an Obloquy and Clamour, (which, as far as I can judge by your Letter, you also listen to) that, as to import our Cattle to you is a Nusance, and to export our Wools is Felony; so, by Gradation, to erect here a Manufacture ought to be no less than Treason. And yet there is more Cry than Wool in all this Matter: For I dare, and do assure you, that, modestly speaking, the whole Quantity of what we work up in *Ireland*, amounts not to the Half of what any one Clothing-County in *England* does. Of what Importance Manufacture is to us, appears more than sufficiently by this Jealousy of it that you have conceived, and by that Life which so small, but active a Particle, insinuates into this poor and idle Body of a Nation. If it were promoted, as carefully as it is discouraged, it would make his Majesties Revenue here rise with more Ease to the Subject, and proportionably increase it for the future. It would replenish the Country with People, raise the Price of our Lands, and wear off the Barbarity of the common *Irish*, when once they were inured to Labour: For Industry is the first Step to Civility, and the securest Pledge to Government; those that will take pains for their own Living, being the least inclined to invade another's Property. If those that are the Heads of such Undertakings reside with you in *England*, all the Product they shall make here, would return to you into the common Stock of the Nation: If they do not, but reside with us, we indeed receive the Advantages above-mentioned; but to you there is no other

More from England.

Some French.

Some Merchants of London *have set up a Woollen Manufacture at* Clonmel.

other Difference, than that you are rich on this Side the Water.

5. All that can be objected reaſonably (for none, I hope, do officiouſly malign us) is, that you are, however, the neareſt Neighbours to yourſelves, and whatever becomes of us, ſink or ſwim, you muſt provide that you ſuffer not by us, either in exhauſting your People, whereof you are already not too numerous; or by diminiſhing your Trade, which is already much decayed. As to the Danger of depopulating you, which is the firſt, it is a Thing you can only preſuppoſe and imagine, but which we, were it a thing to be wiſhed, could never hope for. God forbid, (if it be lawful to make ſo unneceſſary and vain a Requeſt) that any Accident, or Extremity, ſhould cauſe you to exchange *Middleſex* for *Lemſter*, and prefer *Dublin* before *London*, to be the Imperial Seat and Chamber of the Monarchy. It is indeed, as the Profit of an Husbandman, to have his Land full ſtocked with Cattle; ſo of a Prince, to have his Dominions manned with a proportionable Complement of People. And one of our Countrymen intereſted in both Nations, hath therefore well calculated how much the Publick miſſes, or gains, in the Perſon of every Individual. The Bodies of Men are not only eſtimable while living, but when dead: And were it not to play the Coqueten in Trade, I could demonſtrate what Prejudice the Nation receives by the burying of every *Engliſhman* beyond Sea. ——— But, how can we think you ſerious in ſo ſpeculative and remote a Conſideration, that, as to us, it is rather a Caſe put, than what can ever be preſumed to fall out in Practice? For while herein you repreſent the Weaver, *who overſhooting his Shuttle into the Wall, although a* Batchelour, *wet his Cheeks and his Manufacture to think, how if his only Son had received that Blow, his Majeſty had loſt a Subject*, and himſelf *the Stay of his Family*; you nevertheleſs, at the ſame time, and while at Peace, tranſport yearly many thouſands to be killed in the Wars, and are become the Magazine of Men to your Neighbours. You do not only ſend out yearly Swarms of Men to your old Colonies, but, wanting, it ſeems, Hives for your Multitude, you do every Day increaſe your new Buildings at home, and abroad deſign new Plantations. And even your Mer-

chants incorporated with others, whose greater Quality may suppose them to be Statesmen in that Particular, instead of bringing over more Gold from *Guinea*, do, as I am told, so inhanse their sole Trade of *Negroes*, that your Planters, not able to go to the Price, *are forced to load their Ships continually with* English *Servants*. And, if there were this Penury of People with you, it is probable that you would find out Employment for so many idle Persons, that, as I observed when I came last over, notwithstanding those constant Draughts beyond Sea, do, both Natives and Foreigners, pester you still at home, and so incumber your Streets and your Highways, that a Man of Business can scarce pass without justling. Therefore it is time for you to quit this Notion, which you so many ways slight in effect, and contradict in Practice, and in our Case is so singular: unless you will affix your Inhabitants, like Trees, to the Soil, and lay as severe an Injunction against your *English* Mens going abroad, as that wherewith you have impounded our Cattle at home in *Ireland*.

6. That which may afford more Appearance in Reality is, that our Woolen Manufactures interrupt the Vent of yours. But I have already shewn you how slender a Quantity is wrought up with us; so small a Pittance, that it cannot affect even your *Norwich*, much less your whole Kingdom: nor is there yet any Law (I hope will not) to interdict us what, if real, were so necessary. The *Dutch*, the *French*, any Foreigner, have Liberty, and make use of it, to work with us; and shall the *Irish* or *English* of both Countries be rather debarred, whether rich, from planting Manufacture; or whether poor, from labouring it in *Ireland*? I know not that it ever entred into your Minds to forbid your *English* the purchasing of Land among us; and what Reason is there greater, to hinder them from employing their Money with us upon any other Occasion, to private and publick Advantage? But what do I instance in Land, a Thing the most improbable; and to which, as it stands with us, the *English* can at present have no Temptation? when, besides the Novelty, Weakness, and Mutability of Titles, every thing from which the Profit might result, is render'd so incommodious to us, and unpracticable, that, as the Tenant hath only his Labour for his Pains, so the Purchaser,

Purchaſer, inſtead of Rent, can have only his Land for his Money. Therefore I ſubmit it to you, to chuſe any more particular and proper Inſtance, (if ſuch there be) where *Engliſh* Mens Eſtates lie under ſuch a perpetual Tuition, and others may adminiſter to him that is yet living. But this Clamour hath ſo little of a publick Spirit in it, that it ſavours rather of that Envy which is among little Artificers, or meaner Merchants, that trade or factor in the ſame Commodity: For there is indeed no Man but doth, in ſome ſort, prejudice another; no Trade, but is to the Detriment of another Trade in ſome meaſure: yet theſe are all reconciled in the publick Convenience, or Neceſſity; otherwiſe every Country, every Company, every Member, would ſtand in another's way, and there ſhould be no End of Diviſibility. But, if you were in earneſt, methinks it would better require your good Husbandry and Inſpection, to rectify thoſe, whether Trades or Perſons, that ſuck out your very Blood, tranſvaſating foreign Juices into your Veins; and that, while they export your Treaſure and Bullion, prey upon your Vitals. And to diſcover ſuch others, who, under the Quality of *Engliſh* Merchants, are, as is ſaid, but Factors for Aliens, and daily ſpirit away the Wealth and Strength of your Nation beyond Sea. But however you judge and diſpoſe of your domeſtick Affairs, ſuffer not yourſelves, in regard of us, to be impoſed on by falſe Suggeſtions againſt your own, and our Intereſt.

7. For the Deadneſs of your Manufactures, as well as ours, proceeds not from their interfering with one another, but from differing Cauſes; wherein it may beſit you, firſt, to conſider (for I will not, to the Diſreputation of ſo many worthy Merchants, affirm what is reported at this Diſtance) whether ſeveral of thoſe *Companies* that are entruſted, and impowered, with the *ſole Trade* of your home-bred Commodities in remote Regions, do not, for their more exceſſive Advantage, forbear to buy up that Quantity, which ſo great a Part of the World, as lies ſtretch'd out in their Patents, but unviſited in their Traffick, would take off, at a *more moderate Profit*. And whether they do not, for what Quantity they do utter, methodize their buying ſo artificially, to ſuch Times, Conditions, and reſtrictive Regulations, practiſing upon the Manufactor's Neceſſity, that the poor

Men lie at the Merchant's Mercy, and their Goods lie ſo long upon their Hands, 'till they are forced to receive any Rate from the *ſingle Chapman's* Diſcretion. For, whether it be ſo or no in this particular, there is that general Malignity in Commerce, that the rich Buyer does ſet the Dice always upon the neceſſitous Seller: as in the moſt plentiful Years of Corn, the Ingroſſer never thinks the Market low enough. But a more evident and certain Reaſon of yours and our conſuming for want of Conſumption, is the Wars, with which formerly, and of later Years, *Europe* has generally been infeſted. So that in moſt Parts thereof, which were uſually ſupplied from you, the People have been much impoveriſhed, and thereby neceſſitated to be their own Clothiers firſt, and from thence enabled, Induſtry increaſing, ſome of them, to furniſh their Neighbours. And to this ſeveral of your own Subjects have concurred, who either not finding themſelves well and eaſy at home [b], or enticed over by greater Profit, have inſtructed Foreigners in the whole Myſtery of Cloathing, 'till they now have made it a Staple Commodity, and outdo yours for Perfection; and what between their finer and coarſer Manufactures, can both overſell and underſell you at any Market; where you too, that were the ſole Merchants, do often condeſcend to be their Chapmen. Thus, by the Reciprocation of human Affairs, that Trade which the Wars, upon the Foreigners Refuge with you, firſt introduced, is, upon Occaſion of the Wars, revolved back again, and the Drapery reſtored to them in great meaſure, even by means of your own Subjects.

[b] Ch. 46. §. 4.

Woolen Cloth a Staple Commodity of Foreigners, in which they both overſell and underſell the Engliſh.

8. But the grand Spring of this whole Matter lies in *France*. That King is a moſt vigilant and potent Prince, ſtrong in Arms, in Council, in Treaſure, and in People; who meaſures Juſtice by his Intereſt. And accordingly, ever ſince he manifeſted himſelf, and aſſumed the whole Direction of his own Affairs, he hath made War to all *Europe*: with his Sword, againſt his Enemies; but againſt his Friends (and Enemies alſo) by Traffique [c]; which is indeed, as the more juſt, ſo the moſt effectual Way of deſtroying them. But, among all, none hath, on this latter Account, more ſuffered than the Subjects of *England*. For beſides the Wines, which we purchaſe at moſt exceſſive Rates, and for the moſt part with pure Money,

[c] Ch. 94. §. 15--21.

Money, (although if it pleaſed the King and Parliament, there might be more generous Wines, and upon better Terms, imported from *Italy*, and the *Mediterranean*;) and beſides thoſe Trinkets, of which we are ſo fond, and to the making of which the *French* Genius was formerly moſt adapted; he hath now, for many Years, applied his People to the more ſolid Trades of Cloth, Silk, and Stuffs; indeed of all things valuable. To this, he hath either wholly prohibited, or, which is tantamount, laid ſo exceſſive Impoſitions upon all *Engliſh* Manufactures, that they are in a manner wholly excluded. Well may you in *England* complain of the Death, rather than Deadneſs of your Manufacture, when from this Cauſe it receives ſuch an Obſtruction, even to Suffocation; when you are not only deprived of that general and gainful Vent you had formerly in *France* itſelf, but in all *other Places* where you traffique, you meet the *French* now at every turn; and the foreign Poſt brings News from *all Parts*, that they are before you, and have underſold you in the ſame Commodities *.

France *not only prohibits, in effect,* Engliſh *Drapery, but rivals it with their own in all foreign Markets.*

9. And to this Diſeaſe ſo mortal, and which it is beyond any private Man to remedy, yourſelves do more particularly contribute, by thoſe vaſt Quantities of Wool which, they tell us here, are daily, and now more than ever tranſported for *France*, *(a Thing that you always prohibit, but it ſeems you always tolerate;)* ſo that, in effect, *Calis* is ſtill no leſs your Staple, than while it was formerly under the *Engliſh* Dominion. I will not excuſe ourſelves in *Ireland* from the ſame Crime, although in leſs Proportion: For whereſoever any Commodity is ſo pent up, as with us, it will force a Vent one way or other. But you have, as I hear, a *Militia*, that in Defiance of all Authority, convey their Caravans of Wool to the Shallop with ſuch a Strength, that your Officers dare not offend them: while whatſoever we do of that kind, is more modeſt; and whereſoever it loſes its way at Sea, it is firſt entred for *England*, and pays, as I told you

* This is to be obſerved, againſt what we ſhall hereafter ſee offered for Hiſtory on this Head, *viz.* 'Before the 'Peace of *Utrecht* we had no Rival in the *Woolen Manu-* 'facture Trade, but the DUTCH. [d] Ch. 133. §. 1.

you before, both the King's Duty, and that to the Lord Lieutenant for Licenſe: ſo that, as we cannot trade, ſo neither can we ſteal with you on equal Terms.

10. Nature has been kind to us, were you ſo likewiſe. But you prohibit our Cattle, you reſtrain our Wool; our Manufacture is intolerable; you forbid our trading with any foreign Commodities in your own Plantations: What we buy there, we muſt enter in *England*; and before we land it, muſt make a ſecond and more dangerous Voyage, to pay you double Cuſtoms. We are in all things indeed treated by you like, or worſe than, Aliens. In the mean time, we pay Quit-Rents, Chimney-Money, Exciſe, Cuſtoms, *&c.*

11. It would require an exquiſite Memory, to tell you of any late Act of State relating to *Ireland*, that hath not, one way or other, turn'd to our Prejudice. And yet, though unhappy, we are conſtant; nor hath it ever been in your Power to diſoblige our Affection, much leſs our Loyalty.

12. In Concluſion, the ſame Aſpect that *Sicily* has to *Italy*, that, in all Parallels, hath *Ireland* to *England*. Therefore I would humbly adviſe you, *Brother*, in particular, no more to look upon us (which is the common Error) as a diſtinct, but as a conjunct, Intereſt and People; and to do your Part, what we are now rather in Shew, to conſolidate us really into your own Subſtance.

12. Whether you will think fit to reverſe your Act againſt our Cattle, I know not; nor can I anſwer for the Effect that it would produce. But I have often obſerved, how gladly Waters that have been diverted, return and fall again into their old Courſe.

13. That you ſhould make any Act to encourage Manufacture with us, is what can ſcarce be expected; but I hope you will make none to diſcourage it. For, as it requires no Phyſician to tell, that to keep a Man warm is good againſt a Cold; ſo I, though no Politician, dare ſay in general, that it concerns you to uſe us kindly, and to indulge us in all things that tend to civilize, cultivate, and people this Nation; whereby you will, or may, have, within ten Hours Sail of you, a Plantation worth all thoſe other that weaken you at ſo great a Diſtance, while we ſhould always be at hand, and within Call, not more ready to defend ourſelves than you, upon

the

the firſt Inſult of an Enemy. By how much you have uſed us to expect leſs, the leſs will oblige us. We will allow you eaſily to make, what we are, younger Brothers of us; only uſe us as Brethren, not as Slaves. For it is an equal Oppreſſion, to command Men to make Brick without Straw; and where there is both Brick and Straw, to countermand it.

CHAP. LX.

A Treatiſe of Wool and Cattle, in a Letter written to a Friend, occaſioned upon a Diſcourſe concerning the great Abatement of Rents, and low Value of Lands, &c. 1677.

1. THAT our Rents are abated, and that the Value of our Lands are greatly fallen, moſt Mens Experience ſufficiently tells them. For from 20 Years Purchaſe, the uſual Rate, not many Years ſince, they are now ſunk to 18 at the higheſt; and in ſome Places, to 16 or 17; and theſe Eſtates too, at a low Undervalue. So that if we ſum up what 100 Pounds a Year was worth, 30 or 40 Years ago, we ſhall find that the real Value of our Eſtates is a third Part leſs now, than they were then. A hundred Pounds a Year then, would have yielded, *viz.* at 20 Years Purchaſe, 2000*l.* Now, there is 20 Pounds a Year at the leaſt, and in many Places 30, Abatement out of 100. To ſay the leaſt Abatement, 20, there remains but 80; which at the higheſt Purchaſe, of 18 Years, comes to 1440*l.* ſo that here is more than a third Part of the Value loſt. This being the Caſe, let us proceed to examine the Cauſes. Page 4.

2. Firſt, the low Price our Wool now bears, which is not worth above 7*d.* * a Pound. The ſame, a few Years ſince, was worth 12*d.*; and in the very Height Page 6.

* The foregoing [e] Writers ſpeak of 5*d.*; which nevertheleſs might be true, tho' of a different Wool to which they confined their Ideas. [e] Ch. 56, 57, 58.

of our War † was worth 16 *d.* and 18 *d.* And as the Price of this one Staple Commodity did abate, ſo we may eaſily ſatisfy ourſelves, that our Rents did accordingly fall.

3. Secondly, The *Iriſh Act*, the Conſequences whereof we are ſomething ſenſible of, tho' not ſo much as another Age perhaps may be.

Page 7. 4. The Reaſons of the low Price of Wool are, 1. The great Quantity of *Spaniſh* Wool ſold here at very low Rates, made into Cloth, and much worn by ourſelves. 2. Conſequently not uſing the Cloth made of our own Wool at home, and in our Plantations. 3. The decaying of the *Merchant Adventurers* and *Hamborough* Company. 4. The not making our Cloth of ſtatutable Size and Subſtance. 5. Laſtly, The great Abuſes and Cheats put upon our Clothiers by the Brokers and Factors at *Blackwell-Hall*.

Page 8. 5. If we look back no farther than 1660, the Year of his Majeſties Reſtoration, we ſhall find that ſuperfine *Spaniſh* Wool was ſold for 4 *s.* and 4 *s.* 4 *d. per* Pound, and the other Sorts at 3 *s.* and 3 *s.* 6 *d.* And our Wool, at that Time, was ſold for 16 *d.* and 18 *d.* Now this preſent Year 1676 *, the ſuperfine *Spaniſh* Wool is not worth above 2 *s.* or 2 *s.* 2 *d.* and ours not above 7 *d.* ‡ or 8 *d.* So that in 16 Years Time, our Wool is fallen the

† I ſuppoſe he means the Civil Wars; but as it is eaſy to miſtake, at ſuch a Diſtance of Time, a few Years, I rather ſuppoſe it to have been, a little after the Height of the Civil Wars, *viz.* in 1647, or between 1650, and the Reſtoration, as according to other Accounts we have met with, in reference to the Price of Wool in thoſe two Periods. (See alſo §. 5.)

* This Tract was licenſed *March* 28. 1677.

‡ The Reader will be pleaſed to obſerve here, as a Fact, That when *Engliſh* Wool in *England* ſold at a high Price, *Spaniſh* Wool was dear; and that when *Engliſh* Wool, in *England*, was cheap, that of *Spain* was cheap alſo. The Inference to be made from it, is what I ſhall mention preſently; in the mean while, *N. B.* (*for it is very material to be obſerved*) Engliſh *Wool, in* England, *ſold, in the Year* (1660) *for* 16 d. *and* 18 d. per *Pound. So that the very ſame Rea-*

[f] Ch. 56. §. 12. *Note.* *ſon* (a Dearth of Wool) *which had induced* [f] *the Ordinance of Parliament* (1647) *againſt exporting Wool; and which occaſioned*

the one half, or more. And ſo long as *Spaniſh* Wool is ſold at this low Rate, it is not likely that ours can advance.

6. If

occaſioned an Attempt in Parliament to prevent the Exportation of Scotch [g] *Wools* (anno 1652) *concurred alſo to the procuring of the Act* (12 Car. II. c. 32.) *againſt exporting Wool*, &c.

[g] Ch. 40. §. 19. *Note.*

Now, in regard to what this Writer has mentioned, concerning the Price, in *England*, of both *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* Wools, at different Periods; it is a Key to let us into the true principal Reaſon of the Riſe and Fall of *Engliſh* Wools, in *England*, from Time to Time; by which the ſame may be accounted for in a manner more uniform, and, I am perſuaded, nearer to the real Truth of Things, than what has commonly been obſerved on this Head.

The Price of *Engliſh* Wool, in *England*, and the foreign Vent or Demand for *Engliſh* Woolen Manufacture, as the two moſt generally intereſting and important Articles, have always been the great Topics of Diſcourſe in this kind. And we have been apt, from the Price that *Engliſh* Wool has at any time bore in *England*, to meaſure the State, at that Time, of *the Trade* (as it is commonly expreſſed) in plain Words, of the *Engliſh* Exportation of Woolen Goods. But this, I ſhall ſhew [h], is a very uncertain, fallacious Way of judging, as the Law ſtands, and has ſtood from the Reſtoration. Nor is the Quantity of Wool clandeſtinely exported, a more certain Gage to the Price of *Engliſh* Wool in *England*. It has been very cheap, under an Exceſs of this kind, as, particularly, at this very Period (1677.) And it has been at a much higher Price, under much the ſame Circumſtances of clandeſtine Exportation (as will be ſhewn) in the Reign of King *William* [i], and in the Beginning of Queen *Anne* [k], and in the Year 1717 [l], and probably in 1743 [m]. The Caſe being ſo; if it be aſked, How then are we to account for the different Prices of the ſame *Engliſh* Wools, in *England*, under the ſame Circumſtances, only at different Periods? I anſwer: There may be many leſſer collateral Cauſes for its being ſomewhat dearer, or cheaper, at one Period, than at another: And prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool, is one conſtant general Cauſe of its being ALWAYS below its natural intrinſic Worth, according to the general Mart of *Europe*.

[h] *See* Ch. 176. *P. S.*

[i] Ch. 142. N° 1.

[k] N° 2. §. 1, 7.

[l] Ch. 113. §. 3. *Note.*

[m] Ch. 171. N° 6, 7.

This is but agreeable to that unerring Rule of Mr. *Locke* [n], ‘All things that are bought and ſold, raiſe and fall their ‘Price, in proportion as there are more Buyers and Sellers. ‘When there are a great many Sellers to a few Buyers, ‘there,

[n] *Locke*, vol. 2. p. 20.

Page 9. 6. If ſome Duty, or Cuſtom, were laid upon it, his Majeſty, by this means, would receive a good Addition to his Revenue, and our own Wool be brought to a conſiderable Price. *For Prohibitions do not ſo well anſwer their Intention, as the laying on of Duties, more or leſs, according*

' there, uſe what Art you will, the Thing will be cheap. ' On the other ſide, turn the Tables, and raiſe up a great ' many Buyers for a few Sellers, and the ſame thing will ' immediately grow dear.'

Thus is the Prohibition plainly a dead Weight upon the Price of *Engliſh* Wool, in *England*, beyond what lies upon any other Wool, or even upon any natural Produce of the Univerſe beſides (the Spice Iſlands excepted.) Nevertheleſs, as, at any Time, the Market riſes for other Wools, in all other Parts, they do buoy up the Price of *Engliſh* Wool, in *England*; and as they fall, it ſubſides; only *Engliſh* Wool, in *England*, being heavier loaded than the reſt, and more entangled with prohibitory Laws, it is, *cæteris paribus*, firſt on ground, and floats laſt. In this, and only in this way, it may be accounted for (which, I find, to be the Caſe as often as I have had an Opportunity of obſerving) that *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Wool, in *England*, are in ſome Proportion dearer, or cheaper, at the ſame time. Nor is, what has here been ſaid concerning the Price of *Engliſh* Wool, in *England*, being conſtantly below its natural Value in all other Markets, any way unconſonant to Reaſon. We may eaſily repreſent to ourſelves the Truth thereof, by ſuppoſing (which would be a parallel Caſe) that the Wools of *Lincolnſhire* (of which there is great Store, and which, above all other *Engliſh* Wools, are moſt fit for what is called the *Norwich Trade*) might only be purchaſed by *Norwich Combers*, who, nevertheleſs, ſhould have the Liberty of purchaſing *combing Wools* likewiſe from any other Parts of the Kingdom beſides. In ſuch Caſe, tho' the *Lincolnſhire* Wools would riſe and fall, in ſome degree, with the Riſe, and Fall, of all the other *Engliſh* Markets for Wool in general; yet, would not the *Lincolnſhire* Price of the Wool of that County, be leſs, think we, comparatively, than of all other *Engliſh* Wools in *England*? And would not the *Lincolnſhire Graſiers* think themſelves very hardly dealt with? And would not the Land-owners of that County be Sufferers by ſuch a Meaſure? And would not the Tenants, for the ſake of a better Price; or, which comes to the ſame thing, ſome Jobbers, or Merchants; in ſhort, Smuglers, Owlers, for uncommon Gain, riſk the *ſtealing* a Share of this Wool, to ſome other Market than that of *Norwich*?

cording to the Caſe *. To inſtance in the *Iriſh Act*: If a Duty had been laid, ſo much a Head for a Bullock, and ſo much for a Sheep, inſtead of prohibiting them, we had not only continued ſtill our Trade and Commerce with them, but his Majeſty had received, ere this, many a thouſand Pounds for his Cuſtom.

7. But here it is objected, that the *Dutch*, and *others*, would underſell us where *Spaniſh* Cloth is a Commodity; and beſides, the *Spaniard* would take it ill. The *Dutch* indeed loſe no Advantages. But they do already make as much Cloth, as their Number of Hands will permit. The Sorts they make are moſtly black, and many of them ſold here, which I hope may be remedied; but for the Medlies †, I ſuppoſe they make but few. For

Page 10.

Page 11.

* This Obſervation is right in the general, and deſerves eſpecial Notice, although I think our Author is not quite happy in the Choice of his Inſtance, *viz. Spaniſh* Wool. But applying it to the Caſe of *Engliſh* Wool: A Diſtinction is to be made, between the Thing *pretended*, and *deſigned*. In prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of *Engliſh* Wool, it is *pretended* to prevent its being exported. But long Experience tells us, that the Means are incompetent to the End; and a very little Conſideration, I think, will inform us, that the laying on of a Duty will anſwer that End much more effectually. The more acute Part of the Traders, would they ſpeak ſincerely, are, I doubt not, fully apprized of this. But there is another End *deſigned* by them, in prohibiting the Exportation of Wool abſolutely, which the laying on of a Duty would not anſwer; that is, the *bringing down*, and *keeping low*, *the Price of Wool*. The Reader is pretty well informed by this Time, that it was the *Dearneſs* ° *of Wool*, which was the original Cauſe of the *Prohibition*; and therefore no doubt but it was *deſigned*, by ſuch Prohibition, to *abate the Price of it*; and accordingly the *Price of Wool was thereby abated*. And the more Opportunities we ſhall have of making our Obſervations critically, the more we ſhall be convinced of this Truth, *That prohibiting the Exportation of Wool will not prevent its being exported; but it will abate the Price of it*.

° §5. *Note*.

† Theſe Cloths differ nothing from others, as to the Materials, which are finer, or coarſer. But whereas Cloths of one Colour are dyed in the Piece; theſe being of different Colours, the Wool is firſt dyed, ſome of one Colour, ſome of another; and are then mixed; whence they have the Name of *Medlies*.

For the *French*, and others with whom we trade for them, *cannot be furniſhed by any other Nation in the World, but by us.* So that if we raiſe the Price of them, we ſhall not be underſold by the *Dutch.*

8. The *Spaniard* can receive no Damage. For if we buy it not, and the *Dutch* do, we only loſe our Trade: But if we only make this Cloth, and the *French*, and others, *cannot buy it but of us*, then they muſt pay the Duty laid upon *Spaniſh* Wool.

Page 12. 9. But a ſecond Cauſe of this great Abatement of the Price of *Engliſh* Wool is, our wearing ſo much *Spaniſh* Cloth ourſelves, and a great Part of that not manufactured by ourſelves, as *Dutch Blacks, &c.* So that if any object to a Duty on *Spaniſh* Wool, I hope they will give us Leave to enjoin our own People to wear our own Manufacture, made of our own Wool. And if this Conſumption at home be added to that Trade, we have yet left abroad, we ſhall ſoon find an Increaſe in the Price of our Wool.

Page 16. 10. A third Cauſe of the great Abatement in the Price of our Wool may be this, *viz.* the decaying Condition of the *Merchant Adventurers*, and the *Hamborough Companies.* And upon Enquiry it may poſſibly appear, that a great deal of this proceeds from ourſelves, and admits of Regulation; as alſo from Abuſes, in not making Cloth of that Size and Subſtance which the Law directs; and more particularly from the Cheats and Abuſes of the *Blackwell-Hall Factors*, a Sort of People not heard of before the Beginning of the late Rebellion; from low Circumſtances at firſt, now come to be worth
Page 17. 5 and 10,000 *l.* a Man; while many of the lower Rank of Clothiers daily break, and run away; thoſe Men by their Wiles and Tricks creeping into their Eſtates. For they have brought the Trade to that paſs, there ſhall not be a Cloth ſold in a Market-Day at *Blackwell-Hall* by many of our Clothiers, if theſe Men have not the ſelling of it; and it would grieve a Man's Heart, to ſee how harmleſsly the poor Clothier waits at the Heels of the Factor, all the Day long, whither he pleaſes to lead him.

Page 18. 11. So that as the Manufacture of our Cloth is now managed wholly by private Intereſts and Deſigns, were our Trade abroad never ſo good, it is not probable (lying

ing in such Hands) it should be restored to its ancient Credit and Esteem, and therefore begs to be freed from this *great Monopoly*; that what honest Profit can be made thereof, may redound to him who only deserves it; to the Encouragement of that Manufacture, which must help the Price of our Wool, which must help the Advancement of our Rents, *&c.* and not the lazy Factor, who sucks the Gains from the honest Clothier through the Heart of himself, his Family, and all the Poor therein employed.

12. The Woolen Monufacture, by this means, being once more retrieved, let the *Aulnage Office* have a Whet, and be strictly look'd into, that they should not only receive their *Fees*, but do their *Duty*, that we may rightly know, how far short our *English* Cloth will come to the *Spanish*, when well and truly made. Page 19.

13. Suppose there was a Company of Merchants, by Patent or Charter, to buy up in *Spain* every Year's Growth of the *Spanish* Wool [p], and thence transport as much of it as should be thought proper, subject to a Duty, Where would the Inconvenience be? The *Spaniard* could receive no Prejudice by it; we should, by this Means, rather advance the Price of their Wool than abate it. For the *Hollanders*, I suppose we should make no Scruple of getting the Trade from them. For this Cloth Trade is our ancient Right, and did always [q] belong to our Nation; and no other People in the World could in reason pretend to the Manufacture, the Staple growing upon our own Soil. And since there is now another Sort of Wool started up within these few Years, which proves to the Prejudice of ours, I see no Reason why we should not, if we can, compass to make both our own, and that too *. Page 21.

[p] *See* Ch. 39. §. 10. *Note.* Page 22.

[q] *See* Vol. I. p. 184. *Note.*

CHAP.

* I shall not pursue this Writer further, having given, I conceive, a sufficient Specimen, in this last Section, of his little Knowledge in History, upon this Subject, and of his wild and weak Way of reasoning about it.

CHAP. LXI.

Extract from a Dialogue between a Clothier, a Woolen Draper, and a Country Yeoman, at Supper upon the Road; taken out of a Book, intitled, England's Improvement, *&c.*

By Andrew Yarranton, *Gent.* 1677.

1. *Dr.* What News from *London*, old Friend?

2. *Cl.* No News, but the old News; a bad Trade ſtill.

3. *Dr.* It is impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe; for you Clothiers, and we Drapers, are both betwixt one and the ſame Pair of Mill-ſtones.

4. *Cl.* What do you mean by that, Friend?

5. *Dr.* Why, do you not know? I mean, the *Factors*, *Drawers*, and *Packers* are now turned Merchants, and the Trade is ruined by them. Formerly it was you *Clothiers*, and we *Drapers*; and now it is another thing.

6. *Cl.* Indeed, Sir, you ſay true; it is ſo, and I have been often thinking of it, and ſpeaking too, as loud as I durſt, to my Neighbour *Smith* concerning it.

7. *Dr.* What do you mean by ſaying you ſpeak as loud as you durſt? Are you afraid of them?

8. *Cl.* Indeed, Sir, they are now become to us, as the Lawyer is to his Client; we dare not ſay what we know.

9. *Dr.* Why? I know you are a rich Man, and need not fear; and by telling the Truth you may relieve many a Man, and do good to the Trade.

10. *Cl.* I would be willing to do what Good lieth in my Power; but Men of our Trade are ſo much divided, and the poorer Sort are ſo afeared of the Factors, if they ſhould offer to relieve themſelves, and ſeek out any other Way, the Factors would join Stock together, and ſet up our Trade in ſome other Place, and ſo undo our Town.

11. *Dr.*

11. *Dr.* No, that's impoſſible; ſurely no Men will be ſo baſe; eſpecially thoſe that have been your Servants.

12. *Cl.* But what I ſay, is true; it has been done at *Kidderminſter* in *Worceſterſhire*.

13. *Dr.* Well, old Friend, I do believe you; for *Kidderminſter* Factors have ſpoiled the Weavers and the Upholſterers Trade; as our *Blackwell-Hall* Factors have ſpoiled your Trade, and ours.

14. *Countryman.* Gentlemen, I underſtand you are diſcourſing of your Trade of making Cloth, and ſelling Cloth; as I have clubbed with you for Supper, ſo, I pray, let me club a little with you in Diſcourſe; for I am as highly concerned in the Thing you diſcourſe of, as you are. And I heard at the *Rainbow-Coffee-Houſe*, that the People in and near *London*, have of late Years lent about 100,000 *l.* without Intereſt, for four Years, to be employed in the Woolen Manufacture near *Clonmell*[r] in *Ireland*; and by the Strength of that Money to carry away our People out of the *Weſt* of *England* to *Ireland*, and there make Cloth and Stuffs; and when made, then carried to *Spain*, *France*, *Holland*, *Germany*.

[r] Ch. 59. §. 4.

15. *Dr.* There are a certain Number of Perſons, who, they ſay, have employed ſome ſuch Sum, as is ſpoken of, to ſet up the Woolen Manufacture in *Ireland*; and indeed I remember, now 'tis mentioned, to have heard of their taking over many People (out of the *Weſt* of *England*) and ſending Cloth and Stuffs, when made, to *Holland* and *Germany*, and alſo Wool and Beef therewith.

CHAP. LXII.

The ancient Trades decayed, repaired again, &c. By a Country Tradeſman, 1678.

1. I Begin with the Clothing Trade, or Woolen Manufacture, as the chief, and which therefore ought to be encouraged in the firſt place. For if it be ſo, as doubtleſs it is, that God hath given to every Country ſome Page 2.

Page 3. some particular Commodity, that is not to be had any where else; so that none may boast, but that every Country must be beholden unto another for something that they have not; then certainly it must be this that is the Commodity of *England*; because God hath not only given us Wool in abundance that makes Cloth, but also another necessary Material[b], *viz. Fuller's Earth*; without which this Commodity is not to be made, and (as they say) is not to be found any where else, but in this Land; which is a clear Demonstration, that it is the Use of our Wool that is the special Talent, which God hath put into our Hands to improve. And for want of such Improvement it is, that God hath in a great measure taken this Trade from us, and given it to a People more industrious than we are.

[b] Ch. 84. §. 15.

2. Now 'tis granted by all Men, *that the Transportation of Wool* is one Hinderance to the Clothing Trade; for hereby there is not only Cloth made of our Wool, which might have been made by our own People, but by mixing our Wool with the Wool of other Countries, there is almost twice as much Cloth[t] made, as otherwise there could be; for without the Help of our Wool, there could be no ordinary low-priced Cloth made, which is the Assortment that is mostly used, there being a far greater Number who wear this, than there are who wear any finer Sort; and by this means it is, that our *English* Cloth is so great a Drug in all Places, as now it is. And unless we can keep our Wool and Fuller's Earth from being transported, that so it may be wrought up by our own People, the Trade can never be good again in *England*. Indeed there have been many Ways thought of to prevent this Mischief; all which having proved ineffectual, I shall therefore suggest what may be thought profitable in this Case.

[t] *See* Ch. 58. §. 15. *Note.*

3. 1st, *That all Persons that live within six Miles of the Sea, round from* Newcastle *to* Bristol, *should be enjoined by a Law, to sell all their Wool at a* Market; *and in Default thereof, should be liable to a Penalty.*

2d, *That these* Markets *be six or seven Miles from the Sea side.*

3d, *That all Persons that are allowed to buy at these* Markets, *should be enjoined to give Security*, viz. *their own Bond and Oath, that they will either use it themselves,*

or

or not ſell it again within ſix or ſeven Miles of the Sea. That every one taking this Oath ſhall have a Certificate of the ſame. And he that ſhall buy at any of theſe Markets, *before he hath this Certificate, ſhall be liable to a Penalty.*

4. Becauſe the Law is a little ſhort in this, therefore it is propoſed, 1. *If any Wool ſhould be taken in any Creek, or Corner, by the Sea ſide ready to be ſhipped.* 2. *If any Wool ſhould be taken within ſix Miles of the Sea, driving towards the ſame, after ſuch an Hour in the Evening, or before ſuch an Hour in the Morning.* 3. *If any Wool ſhall be at any time driving towards the Sea ſide in the Day-time, and within ſix or ſeven Miles of the ſame, it ſhall be lawful for any one to cauſe the Perſon that doth drive it, to be examined by a Juſtice of the Peace,* &c. 4. *If any Perſon, or Perſons, ſhall ſee any of our* Engliſh *Wools unloading out of any Ship beyond the Sea, or can by any means get the Knowledge thereof, ſo as to teſtify it upon Oath, that in this Caſe, if ever the ſaid Ship, or Ship-Maſter, ſhould return to* England, *they ſhould be liable,* &c. 5. *That all Merchants that ſhall traffick beyond Sea, and all Captains of Men of War, and all Ship-Maſters, with their Mates and Purſers, and every common Sailor, do take this Oath, and give this Security, and do receive a Certificate hereof; and in Default thereof to be liable,* &c. *Likewiſe all Merchants that are Strangers, and all Ship-Maſters that are Strangers, before they break Bulk, or take in freſh Water,* &c. 6. *It would be neceſſary to add alſo, that all Perſons living within ſix or ſeven Miles of the Sea ſhould take this Oath.* 7. *That a very good Part of the Forfeiture ſhould be given to him, that ſhall diſcover the ſame.* 8. *That it may be lawful for the Clothiers, in every Places of the Kingdom, to hire any one to ſee that theſe Laws are put in Execution in all the Parts of this Realm.*

5. Now if every one of theſe Particulars was made into a Law, I cannot underſtand but that they might be eaſily executed, and that they would effect the thing deſired, were it not for two *Engliſh* Iſlands, *viz. Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, that do live upon the Trade of knitting *Worſted* Stockins, *&c.* And for this Reaſon, the Law tolerateth ſeveral hundred Tods of Wool to be tranſported thither; under which Pretence, it is to be feared, that many hundred Tods are tranſported into *France*. And Page 6.

what to do in this Particular more than hath been ſuggeſted, and what is already done, by the Law, I cannot tell. Therefore it would be happy for this Kingdom, if they could be put upon ſome other Employment, *viz.* in Silk and Flax, which might not be improper for them.

Page 10. 6. [*But ſuppoſe all this, and more, to be done in favour of the* Engliſh *Woolen Manufacture,*] and that the Clothier hath taken all the Care and Pains that poſſibly he can, to make his Cloth both cheap and good; yet when he cometh to ſell it, he cannot do it himſelf, the Factor having got this Buſineſs wholly into his Hands *. Now by this means the Cloth is not only ſold for leſs many times than can be afforded, (that ſo the Factor might have his Salary) but they are alſo put to unneceſſary Charge. Inſtead of being ſold in the Market at *Blackwell-Hall*, the Cloths are ſent home to the Buyer. And the Factor will, at any time, ſend as many more Cloths as he hath Occaſion to buy, and under Pretence they are diſheighted †, will force the Clothier to pay three or four Shillings a Piece for new preſſing.

Page 11. 7. And ſo likewiſe they will ſell for what Time they pleaſe, detaining the Clothiers Money as long as they pleaſe ‡. And hence it is, there can be no poor Clothiers follow the Trade, that hath not a Stock to lie in the Factor's Hands, which hath occaſioned very great Confuſion in many other Trades, as well as this.

8. Now

* 'For formerly, when the Clothiers left the Cloth with 'them to ſell, allotting to them a certain Price; yet not-'withſtanding, they would many times abate Two-pence 'or Three-pence in a Yard, which the Clothier would not 'have done, had he ſold it himſelf. Now ſo ſoon as the 'Buyers perceived this, they would buy of none but the 'Factor. And hence it is, they have uſurped the ſole 'Power of ſelling the Clothiers Cloth, both for what Price, 'and for what Time, and to whom they pleaſe; in nei-'ther of which Particulars they will be limited.'

† Diſordered by Drapers opening them for View.

‡ 'For he ſhall not know to whom it is ſold; or if he 'does, he is no better; for without the Factor's Conſent, 'they will not pay the Clothier one Farthing, ſaying, they 'have had nothing to do with him.'

8. Now to redreſs this great Miſchief to the Clothing Trade, theſe following Particulars would be neceſſary to be offered *.

9. And then there is another Inconvenience, that the Clothier doth meet with, which is this, *viz.* that many times after the Buyer hath bought the Cloth at a Price, and cauſed it to be ſent out of the Hall, to his own Houſe, he hath pretended ſome Fault to be in the Cloth, and unleſs the Clothier will yield to abate what he would have him, he muſt have his Cloth again, which hath often been a great Vexation to a Clothier †.

* 'That [a] no Clothier or Serge-maker, or any one that [a] Ch. 78. 'makes any Commodity of *Engliſh* Wool, be allowed, §. 1. *Note.* 'either they themſelves, or their Factors, to ſell the ſame 'any where in *London*, but in *Blackwell-Hall* only.

2. 'That when the Factor doth ſell any Clothier's Cloth, 'that he be obliged to give the Buyer a Bill, of the Name 'of the Perſon, and of the Place where he liveth, whoſe 'Cloth he hath ſold.

3. 'That notwithſtanding the Factor's ſelling of the 'Clothier's Cloth, yet the Buyer ſhould be Debtor to the 'Clothier, whoſe Cloth it is, and not to the Factor, who 'ſold the Cloth; and in Default of Payment, ſhould be 'liable to be ſued by the ſaid Clothier.

4. 'That if the Factor do ſell the Cloth for leſs Money 'than was ſet him by the Clothier, or ſhould truſt any 'Perſon without the Clothier's particular Conſent to the 'truſting of that particular Perſon, that, in that Caſe, the 'Factor ſhould be Debtor to the Clothier for the full Value 'of the Cloth, in the ſame manner as if it was his proper 'Debt.

5. 'To the end that the Clothier might always know 'the Time when his Cloth is ſold, and to whom, it would 'be neceſſary that there were a Regiſter in the Hall, 'wherein might be entered the Time when the Cloth was 'ſold, the Factor's Name that ſold it, the Clothier's Name 'and Place of abode, whoſe Cloth it is which is ſold, and 'alſo the Buyer's Name, and Place of abode, that hath 'bought it. And in this, and all other Charges, they ob-'ſerve a Mediocrity.'

† 'Others there are, who have very much abuſed the 'Clothier, by exacting unreaſonable Meaſure; and to this 'end, many have uſed indirect Ways, as the having that 'Abomination of, *a Yard, and a Yard.* Nay, ſometimes 'they have put the Cloth into a Tub of Water, and after 'this they have griped the Clothier exceedingly in the 'Meaſure.'

Page 13. 10. Now it may be ſuppoſed, that if this Order ‡ were obſerved, it would prevent this Inconvenience to the Clothier for the future.

Page 14. 11. After all this, the Exportation of Cloth will want to be promoted; for herein we are very much hindered by the *Dutch* *, and much more by the *French* †.

12. This

‡ *Viz.* 'I. That his Cloth being ſealed with the Town Seal 'where it is made, the ſworn Aulnager ſhould alſo meaſure every Man's Cloth as it cometh out of the Mill, 'which Meaſure might be expreſſed upon the Seal. Now 'the Cloth having this Seal annexed to it, and being bought 'in the Market, and ſent out of the ſame, at a Price agreed 'upon; that in this Caſe, the Buyer ſhould be obliged to 'have this Cloth ſo bought. 2. That if the Cloth thus 'ſealed, ſhould in reality be faulty, the Clothier ſhould not 'abate, but the Aulnager be puniſhed.'

* 'Who do make Cloth themſelves, and ſell it in thoſe 'Places, where we ſhould ſell ours. But could we keep our [b] Ch. 34. §. 1. 'Wool and Fuller's Earth from them, we ſhould ſpeedily 'prevent them. And it would be neceſſary that there ſhould 'be an high Impoſt upon all fine Cloth that ſhall be imported.' Chap. 84. §. 15.

† 'The *French* do far more unkindly with us than the '*Dutch*, becauſe of the latter we take little, but of the 'other, as is related by Mr. *Fortrey* [c], we do take ſo much 'of their Wines, Linens and Silks, that the Exceſs of theſe [c] Ch. 44. 'Commodities imported to us, is as much as cometh to '1600,000 *l.* more than our Commodities re-exported unto 'them; for which we do pay them ready Money. And 'had not the *French* King found it to be true upon Examination, he would have prohibited all our Commodities to 'have been brought into his Kingdom. Wherefore he only laid a great Impoſt upon the ſame; which is a *French* 'Crown upon an Ell and Nail.

'It being then a manifeſt Truth, that we do take off ſo 'much of their Commodities to the great Wrong and Prejudice of our own Weavers and Tradeſmen in *London* and *Canterbury*; it is very hard Meaſure that they will take 'little or nothing of ours, eſpecially ſeeing that this they 'have done formerly, and ſhould they wear our Woolen 'Manufacture as they have done heretofore, that Country 'would be ſufficient to take off almoſt as much as could be 'made in *England*.

'Therefore it would be neceſſary to take the ſame Meaſures to beat them out of their Trade with us, as they 'have done to beat us out of our Trade with them.'

12. This Trade is very much hindered by our own People, in wearing many foreign Commodities inſtead of our own, as might be inſtanced in many Particulars. To remedy this, it would be neceſſary to lay a very high Impoſt upon all ſuch Commodities *.

13. The *Iriſh* Act that prohibits the Importation of their lean Cattle doth greatly hinder Trade, in that the

* *An Act for raiſing Money by a Poll*, 29, 30 Car. II. c. 1. To this a Clauſe was tacked, for prohibiting the Importation of any *French* Commodities, for three Years. *And this Clauſe will be found to have given quite a new Turn, with much Advantage, to the* Trade of *England*; ſo that

THIS YEAR, MDCLXXVIII, is to be looked upon as a remarkable ÆRA of the *Engliſh* Commerce.

As the Woolen Trade of *England* had been in a progreſſive State, from *Edw.* III. to Queen *Eliz.*; and from the End of the Reign of Queen *Eliz.* to this Time, had ſuffered a DECLENSION, though not without ſome intermediate Fluctuations: ſo, from this *Prohibition of Commerce* with FRANCE, are we to date its REVOLUTION; and, allowing for ſome temporary, leſs diſcernible Ebbings and Flowings, its Progreſs and gradual Increaſe, even to this Time.

And as the far greateſt Decay in the *Engliſh* Woolen Trade had happened between the Reſtoration (1660), and this Year (1678), and that by means of the *French* Impoſitions on the *Engliſh* Drapery, (which amounted to a Prohibition), and through the great Infatuation of the *Engliſh* Court at the ſame time, and of the People of *England*, after their Example, in giving into the Uſe and Wearing of all *French* Product and Manufacture whatſoever, even to their *Woolens* (Druggets ‖ eſpecially) which was ſo much to the Diſcouragement of the Home-Conſumption of Home-Manufactures, (which is their principal Market) and to the Trade with other Nations, willing to deal with *England* for their Woolens, upon the Foot of Exchange; but, upon other Terms, neither willing, nor *able:* ſo it is to the Reverſe of theſe Meaſures, commencing *ann.* 1678, that we are to aſcribe an happy Revival of *Engliſh* Manufacture and Commerce; but which Meaſures did not begin to have their *full Effect*, 'till *England* was wholly emancipated from FRANCE, by the Acceſſion of King *WILLIAM of Immortal Memory*, in all reſpects, under GOD, *the Great and Glorious Deliverer of this* NATION. (See Chap. 72. §. 1. *Note.* Chap. 100. §. 13. Chap. 103. §. 6. *Note.*)

‖ Ch. 55. §. 3. Chap. 51. §. 10.

Money that was made of them was returned in Commodities. All, both Gentlemen, Tradeſmen, and Countrymen, are injured by it.

CHAP. LXIII.

Commune Concilium tentum in Camera *Guild-Hall* Civitatis *London* die Jovis, viceſſimo Die Junii Anno Domini 1678, Annoq; Regni Domini noſtri Caroli Secundi, nunc Regis Angliæ, &c. Triceſſimo, *Franciſco Chaplin* Milite, Majore Civitatis London, *Johanne Frederick* Milit', *Willielmo Turner* Milit', *Georgio Waterman* Milit', *Joſepho Sheldon* Milit', *Thomas Davis* Milit', *Jacobo Edwards* Milit', *Patientia Ward* Milit', *Joanne Moore* Milit', *Henrico Tulſe* Milit', *Jacobo Smith* Milit', *Nathaniel Herne* Milit', *Roberto Geffrey* Milit', & *Thoma Gold* Milit' Aldermannis, nec non majore Parte Communiariorum de communi Concilio ejuſdem Civitatis tunc & ibidem Aſſemblat.

An Act for Regulation of Blackwell-Hall, Leaden-Hall, *and the* Welch-Hall, *and for preventing of* foreign * *buying and ſelling.*

1. WHereas by ancient Cuſtoms and Uſages within this City, all Woolen Broad Cloths, &c. made, or wrought within this Kingdom of *England*, or Dominions

* By *Foreigners*, are here to be underſtood Perſons not *free* of the City of *London*.

Dominions of the ſame, and brought to this City and Liberties (for the greater diſcouraging the making Sale of unlawful Wares, and for avoiding all corrupt, undue, and clandeſtine Bargains and Contracts concerning the Commodities aforementioned) have been, or ought to have been brought to *Blackwell-Hall*, *Leaden-Hall*, or the *Welch-Hall*, or to ſuch other common Market-Place, or Places, as for that Purpoſe were, or ſhould, from Time to Time, be appointed, and thither brought, and there only, and not elſewhere, ſearched and ſold, (the Owners thereof paying for ſuch Liberty and Privilege of Hallage, and other Duties for the Relief of the poor Children of *Chriſt*'s Hoſpital *.)

2. And whereas to obviate all Evaſions, the various Acts and Ordinances heretofore made, have not attained their End: Be it therefore enacted, That all ſuch by this Act be repealed. And be it further enacted, That all *Eſſex* Cloths, *Suffolk* Cloths, &c. except *Norwich* and *Canterbury* Stuffs, be brought unto, pitched and harboured in, *Leaden-Hall*; there to remain 'till they be entered, and the Duties of Hallage, herein after mentioned, paid, or agreed and ſecured to be paid for the ſame; which Entry of the ſaid Cloths, or other Woolen Manufactures, brought or to be brought, as aforeſaid, to the ſaid Hall, ſhall be immediately made after ſuch bringing the ſaid Commodities to the ſaid Hall, upon Pain that every Perſon that ſhall offend herein ſhall forfeit, &c. Which Cloth, &c. or any of them, ſhall not thence be removed to any other Place out of this City or Liberties thereof, 'till after the three firſt Market Days of their being brought to the ſaid Market, unleſs ſold in the mean time, or removed and carried to be ſold in any other Market, without the Liberties of this City.

* 'The *Flemings* were the firſt [*in the Northern Parts of* Europe] 'that became Traders in Manufactures, 'till the 'many prejudicial or hurtful *Laws* of the *Halls*, which at 'firſt were framed on the Pretence of preventing Deceit, 'and the debaſing of Commodities, but were, in truth, in-'tended to fix [*a Monopoly of*] thoſe Manufactures to the 'Cities.'

De Witt's *Maxims*, &c. Chap. 11.

3. And it is hereby enacted and declared, That all other Sorts of Broad Cloths, and all other, *&c. &c.* made or mix'd with Wool, or with Cotton Wool, which ſhall be brought to the City of *London*, be brought unto, pitched and harboured in, *Blackwell-Hall*, and the *Welch Hall*, or one of them, there to remain 'till they be enter'd, and their Duties of Hallage herein after mentioned, paid, or agreed and ſecured to be paid for the ſame, *&c.* not to be removed 'till after three Market Days, unleſs ſold in the mean while, or bought before by ſome Draper, or other *Freeman* of the City (not a Factor) by Pre-contract with the Clothier, or in ſmall Quantity by ſuch Pre-contract of private Perſons for their own particular Uſe, or except having received Damage by Wet, or otherwiſe, they ſhall require new Dying, *&c.* in order to Sale.

4. Further, That no Perſon, free or not free of this City, ſhall buy or ſell, or barter any of the aforeſaid, within the City or Liberties thereof, except in *Blackwell-Hall*, *Leaden-Hall*, or *Welch-Hall* reſpectively.

5. Further, That no Factor or Broker of *Blackwell-Hall*, although a Freeman of the City, ſo long as he is in the Capacity of a Broker or Factor, ſhall buy any of the ſaid Cloths, *&c.* at the Markets aforeſaid, unleſs they be Cloths which he himſelf doth not ſell, and unleſs they be tranſported beyond Sea upon his own Account.

6. And be it further enacted, That the Hall-Keepers of every the Halls aforeſaid, for the Time being, ſhall every Market Day, during Market-time, attend in their reſpective Markets, in their Gowns, and hinder all *Foreigners* and *Aliens* from coming into the ſaid Markets; and if any *ſuch Foreigner*, or *Alien*, ſhall *preſume* to come into the ſaid Markets, or any of them, to buy or inſpect into any Commodities aforeſaid, then the ſaid Hall-Keepers reſpectively ſhall turn ſuch *Foreigner*, or *Alien*, out of the ſaid Markets, and ſhall not ſuffer him again to enter thereinto, during Market-time aforeſaid, upon Pain that every Hall-Keeper that ſhall fail in his Duty, ſhall forfeit, *&c.*

7. And be it further enacted, That every Freeman of this City that ſhall introduce any *Foreigner*, or *Stranger*, into any of the aforeſaid Markets, to buy, or make Inſpection into the aforeſaid Commodities, ſhall, for his firſt

firſt Offence, forfeit 5 *l.* for his ſecond 10 *l.* for his third 20 *l.* And if he, after that, be convicted of offending in like manner, he ſhall be utterly disfranchiſed, and not re-admitted, but by Order and Conſent of Common-Council.

8. And for further preventing the colouring of Foreigners Goods, by Factors ſelling of the aforeſaid Commodities within the ſaid Markets, *to Foreigners, or for their Uſe*; be it enacted, That every Factor who ſhall, after the Publication of this Act, ſell any of the Commodities aforeſaid to any *Foreigner*, or *Foreigners*, or for his or their Uſe, (except to ſuch Perſons as by Act of Parliament are allowed) that every ſuch Factor ſo ſelling the ſame, ſhall forfeit, *&c.*

9. And whereas it is found by Experience, that thro' Neglect of Clerks, *&c.* great Quantities are bought frequently up in thoſe Markets, by Foreigners, foreign Merchants and their Agents; be it therefore, *&c.*

CHAP.

P. S. I think the Text of this extraordinary Act of Common-Council is too plain, to need any Comment[d]. I ſhall therefore only ſubjoin here an ancient Imperial Decree, which is not altogether foreign to the Caſe.

[d] Ch. 9. §. 14. *Note.*

De Monopoliis & Conventu Negotiatorum illicito.

'Si quis Monopolium auſus fuerit exercere, bonis pro-priis exſpoliatus perpetuitate damnetur exilii. Ceterarum præterea profeſſionum Primates, ſi in poſterum, aut ſuper taxandis rerum pretiis, aut ſuper quibuſlibet illicitis placitis auſi fuerint convenientes hujuſmodi ſeſe pactis conſtringere, quadraginta librarum auri ſolutione percelli decernimus.' *Codicis Juſtinian. lib.* 4. *tit.* 59.

CHAP. LXIV.

An Account of the French *Uſurpation upon the* Trade of England, &c. *In a Letter. By* J. B. 1679.

Page 3. 1. THE moſt Chriſtian King hath ſet up the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indian* Trades, and hath engaged in them moſt of the rich Gentry and Nobility of that Kingdom, and hath armed them with ample Privileges, Powers and Immunities; and hath erected ſeveral other trading Companies: and certainly he hath hereby laid a Foundation of a greater Empire than ever was in *Charlemaine.*

2. By his Moneys and Privileges he draweth moſt of the beſt Workmen and Artiſts out of the other Parts of *Europe* into *France*, and the Materials too; when they are there manufactured, they make a *Mittimus*, and ſend them into the Countries from whence they came. But if any from thence be imported into *France*, they are ſeized upon, being forbidden Goods, as they pretend; or elſe ſo incumbered with Duties by them, that *Europe* can have no Profit or Encouragement to trade with *France.*

Page 4. 3. How the Balance of Trade ſtands between *England* and *France*, is worthy of your grave Conſideration.

[c] Ch. 62. §. 12. *Note.* The Parliament[c], with great Wiſdom and Judgment, hath prohibited *England* all Trade or Commerce with *France.*

Page 11. The Woolen Drapery, which formerly was our Glory, and brought much Riches to us, and employed not fewer than 700,000 Hands, muſt be encouraged. It's to be feared, that of late, not one third Part of the Wool, which is growing in this Nation, is conſumed in that Manufacture; but it is ſent over to our Neighbours; and they buying moſt of the Wool growing in *Ireland*, they have almoſt gotten the Manufacture from us, and we undone; the Prices of Wool being ſo low (the Manufacture failing) that if People did not ſend it beyond Seas, they would not, in many Places, be able to pay half their Rents, Wool falling in Value, as much as Land.

4. It

4. It was an Obſervation of the Lord [‡] *Burleigh*, that if Wool ſell *One Shilling* in the Stone, it's a *Million a Year Loſs* to this Nation. If this Obſervation be true, I pray conſider how much this Nation hath loſt, and how much we may ſuffer, ere we can recover our Manufacture and Trade again. [‡] *See* Chap. 65.

5. The late Statute ‖ for burying in Woolen, if duly put in Execution, will conſume much of our Wool, and preſerve the Linen Cloth for making of Paper, which will ſave this Nation ſome hundred thouſand Pounds a Year. ‖ 18 *Car.* 2. c. 4.

6. For want of Employment, many of our Weavers go over into *France*, to whom that King gives great Privilege and Countenance; their Friends here ſend them over Wool; and the Manufacture, in a little time, will follow after. Page 12.

7. All Commodities to be manufactured here in *England*, are to be made without Deceit, which will give a Value to them; and they are ſo to be ordered, that they may be ſold as cheap as poſſibly we can; for it's found by Experience, that we being able to ſell our Cloth in *Turky* cheaper than the *Venetians*, we have thereby yearly increaſed the Vent thereof; and the *Venetians* have loſt as much of their Utterance in thoſe Countries, becauſe it's dearer. Page 21.

8. The manufacturing of any Commodity doth redound more to the Profit of the Commonwealth, than the Commodity itſelf, therefore it ought to be favoured. There is five * times more Profit by the manufacturing of Wool, than by the Wool itſelf; compare the Wool of *England* with its Cloth. Page 22.

9. [*Could the Power of* France *be retrenched,*] In the Woolen Drapery, ſo many Perſons will be employed, that we ſhall not only conſume the Wool growing in *England*, but that of *Ireland* too; and ſo by Conſequence we muſt drive the Trade of the World, as to that Manufacture, and have *our own Prices* for it; and our Neighbours being not ſupplied with any Wool from us, their Manufacture will fail; the greateſt Part of thoſe Perſons Page 23.

* The *Britiſh* Merchant (Vol. 2. p. 400.) computes the Medium of the Labour at three times the Value of the Wool.

Perſons employed by them, will, for want of Employment, come over into *England*. All our Ports and Sea Towns will be full of Ships and Men. Our Fiſhery and Woolen Drapery will fully freight us out, and in Return bring us the Riches of the World. *London* will be the *Emporium* and great Mart of *Europe* for all Commodities whatſoever.

CHAP. LXV.

A Diſſertation upon a ſuppoſed Saying of Lord BURLEIGH.

[h] Ch. 64. §. 4.

1. THE foregoing Writer tells us [h], *It was an Obſervation of the Lord* Burleigh, '*That if* Wool '*fell one Shilling in the Stone, it's a* MILLION *a Year* '*Loſs to this Nation.*' This perhaps will be rejected, as mere Tradition, not to be depended upon for Truth, nor greatly to be regarded, altho' it could be proved that he ſaid it.

2. That *Lord Burleigh* had a proper Regard to the *Price of Wool*, is the more credible, from his being a Native of *Lincolnſhire*, a large and opulent County, producing vaſt Quantities of Wool, and bordering upon *Leiceſterſhire*, and other Counties, abounding in the ſame Commodity.

3. And poſſibly to the Wiſdom and Influence of this great Miniſter and Stateſman it may be imputed, (which is pretty remarkable) that the Manufacturers or Dealers in Wool, who had, for Ages before, been conſtantly graſping at ſome monopoliſh Advantage or another from the *Engliſh Wool*, if they did make any Attempts of that ſort, during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, never once ſucceeded; there being no Appearance thereof in the Statute Books, or in the public Acts.

4. It is not indeed unlikely, but that ſome Overtures of that nature, at one time or other, from the Manufacturers, or Staplers, might draw from *Lord Burghley* ſome Expreſſion much to the ſame Purport with what is here

here reported of him. And taking it with ſome little Latitude, it was the Speech of (what undoubtedly he was) a *wiſe Man*, and a *Patriot*, as may be thus made out.

5. Let us ſuppoſe, for Argument ſake, (upon the Foot of a former [1] Computation by Arithmetical Politicians) the whole annual Expence of the Nation to be — — — — £ 43,000,000
The Rent of the Land — — — £ 10,000,000

[1] *See* Chap. 48. §. 1. *Note.*

which is ſo much towards the whole annual Expence. The reſt then is chiefly ſupplied by Labourers, of one kind or another; whoſe Wages, when earned and received, are, to all the Purpoſes of national Expence and Conſumption, equal to ſo much Rent. Only it is to be conſidered, that it is the Rent of *England*, firſt iſſued, and giving the Spring to Labour and Expences, which undulates to ſuch a Degree, as the whole Expence and Conſumption beſides amounts to, beyond what is the Reſult of the clear Profit gained by Merchants (inhabiting here) buying in one foreign Country, and tranſporting the ſame to another foreign Country. For all intermediate Perſons between that particular Species of Merchants, and Landowners, are but Labourers and Brokers, whoſe Employment and Wages have their firſt Riſe from Land, as from the Fountain Head.

6. Things being conſidered in this View; and a Rent from Land of 10,000,000*l.* a Year, thus creating, in its laſt Reſult, a yearly Expence fourfold at leaſt. And Wool making, ſuppoſe, one fifth of that Rent; admitting one Shilling *per* Stone, Weight, to be equal to two Shillings *per* Pound, in the Price, or 10*l. per Cent.* In that Caſe, a Fall of one Shilling *per* Stone is, in the firſt Inſtance, *i. e.* to the Land-owner, a Loſs of 200,000*l.* and ultimately, if not made up to him in ſome other Shape, a Loſs to the Nation of 800,000*l. per Ann.*

7. This is undoubtedly true reaſoning, unleſs by any ſort of Logic it can be made to appear, that 18*s.* to one Man, or Claſs of Men, is equal, in all its Uſes, to 20*s.* of another. And I will venture to ſay, that the Argument which will ſo prove 18*s.* of one Man's, as good as 20*s.* of another's, will take even the 18*s.* from that Man, and leave him, and his Dependents, in a thriving Condition.

8. I know

8. I know that ſome Perſons are in a different way of thinking from me, however, of talking upon this Subject; and would even perſuade the *Land-owners*, that if they ſhould give the Manufacturers their Wool *for nothing*, they would find their Account in it, by the Advantage thence accruing to the Public, from the Exportation of Woolen Goods; which creating ſo much more Employment for the Poor, they conſequently would be able to purchaſe ſo much more of the other Product of the Land of the Kingdom, inſtead of receiving the ſame, in Alms, from the Landed Intereſt.

9. But this is only a partial View of the Caſe, it is ſtating the Account but on one Side. They who reaſon thus, do not conſider, that by how much leſs the Landholder receives, in the firſt Inſtance, for his Wool, ſo much more, in a *fourfold* Proportion at leaſt, muſt home Employment, of one kind or another, and Wages, abate; and conſequently the Conſumption of home Produce and Manufacture, except at the Expence of the *Landed Intereſt*, in the Shape of Alms. Neither is it conſidered, that ſo great a Share as THREE FOURTHS[k] of our Woolen Manufacture is ſuppoſed to be ordinarily conſumed *at home* by Perſons who do ſubſiſt on Rent, or Labour; which *Rent* ariſes partly from *Wool*; and which *Labour* is procured and paid for by *Rent*.

[k] Ch. 48. §. 1. *Note.*

10. But ſome, figuring to themſelves a Circle of Commerce, which takes in the ſeveral Intereſts of the Community, fix upon *foreign Trade*, as the firſt Point; as if there was any ſuch thing as firſt, or laſt, in a Circle, or that by ſtriking out any one Point, the Circle would not be deſtroyed. But figurative Expreſſions, it may be ſaid, are not to be taken ſtrictly; which tho' it be true, and a Circle is no improper Emblem in this Caſe; yet to conſider the Body Politic of the Nation under the Similitude of a Plant, or a Tree, is at leaſt as proper; and then the Land will undoubtedly be acknowledged as the Root and the Stem. Or again, if we ſpeak of the Community, as a Fabric, (which may be done with equal Propriety) the Land will be allowed to be the Foundation and chief Corner-ſtone. And therefore, to think of enriching the Community with Trade, by expoſing the *Land-owners* particularly to Hardſhip and Loſs, is, as in *Planting*, to fix the Branches in the Earth, inſtead of

the

the Root; in *Building*, to attempt the upper Story firſt. It is in ſhort, to think of thriving by Trade, *without Cuſtomers*, or by Cuſtomers, who are *without Money*. In which Situation, the Traders would ſoon be reduced to wiſh themſelves in the Circumſtance mentioned in the *Spectator*[1], of *Jeremy Comfit a Grocer* *. [1] N° 534.

CHAP. LXVI.

Britannia languens; *or*, *A Diſcourſe of Trade* †, 1680.

1. OUR neat annual Gain, by foreign Trade, did never bring in above 250,000 *l.* or 300,000 *l. per Ann.* Increaſe of Treaſure, one Year with another; taking any Number of twenty Years together. Page 22.

2. It is more advantageous to export Manufacture than the Materials.

3. It is moſt dangerous to tranſport the Materials of Manufacture, ſince it may transfer the Manufacture itſelf. Page 24.

4. But

* Who hoped to grow rich by *loſing his Cuſtomers*. *N. B.* It has been thought proper to ſay thus much, becauſe we ſhall hereafter find it laid down as a recondite Maxim, that *Cheapneſs of Wool* is very much for the Benefit of the Nation; not only ſuch a Cheapneſs as is a natural Effect of Plenty, but even an artificial Cheapneſs, compaſſed by other, indirect Means. But because this is a Doctrine and Policy too refined for vulgar Underſtandings, therefore it will be found, tho' conſtantly purſued, yet but very ſparingly mentioned. Mr. *Mun* [m] only, and ſome few beſides, having adventured to avow it in ſo many Words.

[m] Ch. 45. §. 1, 2. Chap. 73. §. 4. Chap. 79. §. 23, 25.

† This Book is one middling Volume in *Octavo*, treats (like ſome others) of Trade in almoſt all its Branches; and is frequently quoted with Reſpect. I have ſelected from it what has any Reference to my Subject.

4. But if Foreigners will vend their raw Materials of Manufacture, it is neceſſary, or highly convenient, for a Nation to import them.

Page 48. 5. If the Manufacturer cannot ſell his Manufacture, he hath laboured to his great Loſs *.

6. 'Tis true, that if a Nation hath ſome rich and neceſſary Material and Manufacture within itſelf, excluſive to other Nations, it hath a Monopoly of this Manufacture to the reſt of the World, and therefore cannot be underſold, but may vend it ſo as to pay all extraordinary Charges with ſufficient Gain to the Manufacturer and Merchant; which was heretofore the Caſe of *England* in the Woolen Manufacture †.

Page 56. 7. The *Dutch* taking Advantage of our Miſmanagement of our Cloth Trade, found Ways of getting our

Page 57. fine Wool; which mixing with fine *Spaniſh*, and by that Mixture making a cheaper, and more ſerviceable fine Cloth than with all *Spaniſh*, have been long high Competitors in the Trade of fine Cloth, and have actually beaten us out in the *Northern*, *Eaſtland*, and *German Trades*; and ſhare with us in the *Turkey* Trade; both *Dutch* and *French* getting what Quantities they pleaſe of our long and middling Wool out of *England* and *Ireland*, (which they now have cheaper than the *Engliſh* Clothiers from *Ireland*) do mix it with *French*, *Polonia*, or other foreign Wools, (which are two Thirds ‡ cheaper than ours) and therewith make vaſt Quantities of coarſe Cloths, Druggets and Stuffs, which being acceptable and

* This is quite as applicable to the Wool-Grower. If after his Care, and Coſt, and Hazard, in breeding his Lambs, and feeding his Flock, for twelve Months, he cannot ſell his Wool, he hath laboured to his great Loſs. Thus far the Parallel holds. But there is yet a Difference, which is this; the Manufacturer will not labour long in the ſame way, unleſs he can ſell his Manufacture, but will turn his Hand to ſomething elſe, which he can ſell: the Wool-Grower is, for the moſt part, neceſſarily ſuch.

† See how this Writer builds upon the Suppoſition, that *England* once had a Monopoly in the Woolen Manufacture, and that it may poſſibly have it again; neither of which are true.

a Ch. 172. ‡ We ſhall ſee theſe a Wools ſold near one Third dearer than *Engliſh* Wools.

and merchandizable, they export to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Germany*, and moſt other Parts.

8. Their Competition in the Clothing Trade, joined with ſome *Polonian*, *Sileſian*, *German*, and other later Manufactures of coarſe Wools, have already ſunk our foreign Market and Vent; this hath ſunk the Price of our raw Wool, as neceſſarily it muſt; and as their Manufactures increaſe, and ours does expire, the *French* and *Dutch* muſt have our Wool for what they pleaſe; and if they cannot have it at their own Rate, at one of our Ports, they will go to another; and our neceſſitous People, having their Wool in their Hands, will ſell almoſt at any Rate; which is ſo far the Caſe in *Ireland* already, Page 58. that there it is openly exported at ſix or ſeven Shillings the Todd; and then if we compute what a Todd of Wool may ſtand the *French* or *Dutch* in, conſidering their cheap Mixtures of *French*, *Poloniſh*, and other coarſe Wools, we may very ſuddenly expect to have our *Engliſh* Wools at about four Shillings *per* Todd; for if the *Engliſh* Clothier gives more for his *Materials* than the *French* or *Dutch*, he cannot live: It is now in moſt Parts of *England* at twelve and thirteen Shillings the Todd, where, of late * Years, it was thirty and forty Shillings the Todd.

Wool is at 12 s. *and* 13 s. per *Todd*; *of late Years, was at* 30 *and* 40 s.

9. The *French* and *Dutch* have long maligned this *Engliſh* Manufacture, and have now made a mighty Progreſs towards its Extirpation, and therein, of the great Support of our *Engliſh* Nation, (doubtleſs the Wool Sacks † were placed in the Houſe of Parliament to

* Not ſince the Reſtoration: We have heard but once of Wool at 12 *d.* a Pound, ſince 1660; and that, [a] *W. C.* hath informed us, was occaſioned by an extraordinary Runnage of Wool, to the Amount, as was ſuppoſed, of 20,000 Packs.

[a] Ch. 51. §. 13, 14.

† That the Wool Sacks were placed in the Houſe of Lords anciently, as a Precaution or Memorial of ſome kind, I do believe; and perhaps I could offer a rational Conjecture touching the original Intention thereof, but not having a ſufficient Authority for the ſame, I ſhall only remind the Reader, that they appear to have been there, immemorially, ſo long ago as in the Year 1613 [b]; which was ſome Years before the Parliament had Thoughts of prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool.

[b] *See* Chap. 28. §. 1.

give us a Precaution of it.) The *Dutch* of late have been somewhat checked in the *Turky* Trade by the War; but the *French* are more vigilant and vigorous in the Increase and Vent of their Woolen Manufacture than ever; and the *Dutch* are now at Peace again.

10. I know some alledge, that these Nations may suuport their present Woolen Manufacture without our Wool, which our own *English* Clothiers *, on their own Experience, deny. They say that a Mixture of fine *English*, and fine *Spanish*, makes Cloth so much cheaper and more serviceable than of all fine *Spanish*, that it must needs beat out any foreign Manufacture made of all fine *Spanish*, (which is always near twice as dear as our finest *English* Wool;) and therefore have the *English* and *Dutch* near subverted the *Venetian* Cloth Trade in *Turky*. On the other side, they say that the *German*, *Polonia*, *Silesian*, and *French* Wools † are so coarse of themselves, that altho' they may be wrought into an ill sort of Composition, perhaps fit for Sails [c], or such like, yet not *merchandizable*; but in Mixture with *English* and *Irish*, good dressing and dying, will make very vendible and serviceable Stuffs, Druggets, and coarse Cloths.

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[c] *See* Ch. 151.

11. Nor is there any Shadow of Reason to believe otherwise, considering how ravenous the *French* and *Dutch* have been after our Wool, since they set up their Woolen Manufactures ‡. Why have they and their Agents

* So then the Clothiers are here quoted, as competent Evidences, affording a Proof irrefragable, in their own Case. But see Chap. 69. §. 1. where Sir *Josiah Child* lays it down for a Maxim, 'That Merchants, Shopkeepers, Artificers, 'Clothiers, and other Manufacturers, are not to be believed 'implicitly, until, having left off their Trades, they be-'come of the same common Interest with most of their 'Countrymen.' And, besides what Mr. *Mun* has said [d], we shall find hereafter Sir *Josiah*'s general Observation verified, in this particular Instance at least, of the Clothiers Assertions touching *English* Wool.

[d] Ch. 45. §. 1, 2.

† See Chap. 40. §. 11, 12, 13. (*Note.*) *French* Wool imported to *England* at 10 *l.* a Bag, *i. e.* 12 *d.* a Pound.

‡ This Writer had been nearer the Mark, if he had said, since the Exportation of Wool was prohibited in 1660, the *French* and *Dutch* have been willing to carry on a smuggling Trade, with certain *English*, for Wool; who have been very

Agents been lurking on our Coasts, and in our Creeks, to filch it away for so many Years? Why have they given treble as much for it, as for * *Polonia* or *French*? Shall we think the *Dutch* and *French* such Fools and Madmen, as to make so *laborious* and dear a Purchase of an unnecessary Commodity?

12. We are told of some fine *Sclavonian* Wools which the *Dutch* make use of, but withal that they are not comparable to ours; nor of any considerable Bulk; and are assured by those [e] who should best understand it, that no Nation but *England* hath a sufficient Store of Wool to drive a foreign Trade of any Consequence. Page 60. [e] §. 10. *Note.*

13. There is no question, but that if we did manufacture all our Wool, we might again near monopolize the Merchandize and foreign Trade of Woolen Clothing.

very eager and industrious to convey it to them; and for what Reason? for the *Profit* that is to be made by it. The Prohibition has sunk the Price of *English* Wool so much below its natural Value, and what Wool of inferior Worth bears in the common Markets of *Europe*, that *Englishmen*, in certain convenient Situations, will risk great Dangers for the sake of such Gains by this illicit Practice, as are not to be had in the ordinary Course of Traffic. But this, in itself, is no kind of Proof, *that Foreigners cannot carry on their Manufactures without* English *Wool*. Nor can that Position be supported by Proof of any other kind.

* This Fact should have been more circumstantially related, and better attested, in order to its being of any Weight, as an Argument for confining absolutely the Wool of *England* to one Market. It is very possible that some *English* Wool is three times as good as some *Polish* and *French* Wool; (there is a great Difference between some *English* Wools, and others.) But, as observed before, we shall see *Polish* [f], as well as *French* [g] Wools, sold for more Money in a foreign Market, than the very best long *English* Wools at home, in the same Year; whence I infer, or rather shall demonstrate in its due place, that *English* Wool, by the Prohibition, is depressed considerably below its natural Value. This, in a word, is the main Spring of the Owling Trade, which nothing can cure (a Register excepted) without contriving that it may be raised somewhat nearer to its natural Value [h]. [f] Ch. 172. [g] Ch. 162. §. 7. *Note.* [h] Ch. 133. §. 8. *Note.*

Page 134. 14. 'Tis affirmed, that during our Trade in 54 and 55, we exported more Commodities, Cloth, and other things, than since [h] we have done.

[h] Ch. 40. §. 22. *Note.*

15. Before *Edward* the IIId's Time, the *Flemings* manufactured our Wool, and had the Merchandize of it. *Edward* III. brought over some *Flemish* Manufacturers, who by degrees taught the Manufacture of Cloths of all Sorts; and as the *English* more applied themselves to it, so did that of the *Flemings* decay *.

16. For, first, the *English* had the Materials cheaper than the *Flemings*, not only by the Odds in the Carriage out of *England*, but because the raw Wools afterwards exported, were charged with great Customs and Duties to the King. Secondly, Because the Manufacture was continually encouraged, and taken care of by Laws for that purpose.

17. I do not find there was any absolute Prohibition of exporting Wool, 'till the Statute of the 12th of his now Majesty, Chap. 32. † 3 yet the Examples of our cunning

* Supposing this to be true, it is worth observing by what Means the *English* thus were able to gain upon a People ever the most expert at Manufacture [i], and best situated for Trade of any in *Europe*. Because the very same Means are likely to be the best Preservative, or even Restorative, if wanted, in this Case. And these our Author gives us, with a good deal of Judgment and Truth, in the next Section.

[i] Ch. 92. §. 4.

† Our Author knowing little or nothing more of History, in this Case, than what was to be found in the printed Statute Books, the Proclamations of *James* and [k] *Charles* I. with the Ordinance of the Long Parliament, *&c.* are not mentioned by him. And indeed tho' some Writers have mentioned the Ordinance (1647) for that End, I do not find any since *Malynes* and *Misselden*, in the Years [l] 1622 and 1623, (when King *James*'s Proclamation first issued for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool) that takes the least Notice of that Proclamation, or of the subsequent Proclamations, of the same Tenour, of *Car.* I. Whence I conceive that those Proclamations were not, in effect, Prohibitions, nor ever look'd upon as such; otherwise I should think that there would have remained some, at least traditional, Remembrance of them, as of Prohibitions in this Case.

[k] *See* Chap. 33. §. 11. Chap. 36. §. 3, 4, 7. Chap. 39. §. 3.

[l] Ch. 32, 33, 34.

cunning Neighbours now tells us, that *Prohibitions*, accompanied with a due Improvement of Trade at home, are not to be condemned *.

18. The *Flemiſh* Cloth Trade was long ſince ſo far reduced, that we had the ſole Merchandize of it; yet they kept up a Manufacture of Stuffs and Says, the Make whereof the *Engliſh* had not been taught 'till the Duke of *Alva's* Perſecution drove away their Manufacturers, whom Queen *Elizabeth* received, ſeating them at *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, and *Canterbury*.

19. Before this, the *Engliſh* exported great Quantities of our Manufacture into *Flanders*; but doubtleſs more afterwards [m], for which we kept a rich Staple at *Antwerp*. The *Dutch*, long after they became *States*, were ignorant of this Manufacture [n], whom we therefore ſupplied, and by them the *Southern* and *South-Eaſt* Countries of *Germany*, and many other Nations. We had alſo the ſole Trade up the *Elbe*, and thereby, to the North Parts of *Germany*, *Jutland*, and *Holſteyne*. We had the ſole Trade into *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Swedeland*, and *Lieſeland*, to the great Territory of *Poland*, and to the vaſt Empire of *Muſcovy*. All which Trades are ſunk to a ſmall Matter; the *Dutch* having ſet up mighty Woolen Manufactures of all Sorts, and the *Flemings* renewed, or enlarged theirs.

[m] *See* Chap. 26. §. 4.

[n] Ch. 92, 93, 94.

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20. We had alſo the ſole Trade for Woolen Clothing into *France* †, *Turky*, and *Spain*, *Portugal* ‡, and *Italy*,

* This is not quite conſiſtent with what is ſaid afterwards, more truly by this Writer, *viz.* 'That meer prohibitory Laws never did, nor can, anſwer the Ends they 'were intended for.' Then, to ſhew how the Wool-Grower muſt, in courſe, be affected with ſuch a Prohibition, take his own Words again as follows.

'The confining of the Market, and Choice of Chapmen, 'in any degree, is dangerous and prejudicial to Trade, and 'in a larger ° Senſe may be called a Monopoly.'

° *In a literal Senſe, he might have ſaid.*

† 'Of which we vended there the Value of 600,000 *l.* 'yearly.'

‡ 'Which Trade hath been decaying ſeveral Years, but 'of late worſe than ever, by reaſon that the Government 'of *Portugal*, ſince the Year 1660, hath prohibited the 'wearing of *Engliſh* Cloth, having ſet up this Manufacture 'of their own Wools.'

and 'till of later Years to *Ireland*; but ſince the late *Iriſh Acts*, the *Iriſh* have ſet up a conſiderable Woolen Manufacture. Our whole Woolen Manufacture, heretofore exported, hath been generally agreed to yield near two Millions*. But *Engliſh* Cloth is ſold for near a third leſs,

* Admit this to have been true; yet the Reader will, if he reflects at all, eaſily judge that Woolen Drapery exported from *England*, to the annual Value of no more than *Two Millions*, muſt have come very ſhort of ſupplying fully all thoſe Kingdoms mentioned by this Writer (§. 19,20.) whence is to be concluded, that *England* never was poſſeſſed of any thing like the Monopoly he mentions, and is pleading for again; conſequently that the Wool of other Countries is not ſo bad, nor the Manufacture thereof ſo lately begun to be put in Practice in thoſe Countries, as he and many others repreſent. And yet this Nonſenſe has paſſed too currently in *England*, for ſome Generations. And what this Author hath ſaid in another place, muſt, I think, be aſſigned as the chief Reaſon why it has done ſo, *viz.* 'Our Youth [*of liberal Education*] never reading any 'thing of Manufacture, &c. in *Homer* or *Virgil*, or their 'College Notes; and being from thence carried to other 'Studies, our *Men of Learning* are either generally ſilent in 'this Matter, or do ſpeak of it with Contempt; by whom 'moſt others being influenced, we are ſtill pretending to 'be more accurate in Logic and Philoſophy, (which, how-'ever otherwiſe uſeful, do not add two Pence a Year to the 'Riches of the Nation) we prize ourſelves in fruitleſs Cu-'rioſities, which are voted Ingenuities, while the Notions 'of Trade are turned into Ridicule, or much out of 'faſhion.'

And ſo much is true; *viz.* that this Subject, not being in the Rank of polite Knowledge, has not enjoyed the Benefits of *Criticiſm*, to any degree; but having been chiefly treated of by Perſons under the Bias of Intereſt and Prepoſſeſſion, on one ſide of the queſtion; and thoſe not the beſt qualified in other reſpects, as Authors: hence it has come to paſs, that, like a fruitful Field ill cultivated, it has produced more Weeds than Corn. This indeed fixes no Blame upon Individuals, as Scholars, or even upon any Claſs of lettered Men. 'Tis not a Fault, but a Misfortune, ariſing out of the Nature of the Subject. And yet, if any there are, who, indulging themſelves in more delicious Studies, or more profitable Purſuits, treat with Diſdain, an Attempt to reſcue the Nation from *Ignorance* and *Abuſe* herein; let it be conſidered, whether ſuch are not *ſupercilious* and *pedantic*.

leſs, in foreign Markets, than thirty or forty Years agone; to which muſt be added what we fail of the former Quantity. All which is verified in the preſent Condition of our *Engliſh* Towns and Clothiers; of which take an Inſtance from *Reading*, where the Number of Clothiers are reduced from 160 to about 12. I may add, that our Wool is ſunk to about a Third of its Price. Page 164.

21. And whereas before the ſaid *Iriſh Acts*, foreign Ships did victual in *England*, the *Iriſh* being ſince forced to fat their own Cattle, have got that Trade from us. Nay, the very *Engliſh* Ships do ordinarily victual from *Ireland*. And as if the Miſchiefs of theſe Acts would never have an End, they were the Occaſion of the Increaſe of *Sheep*, and thereby of a vaſt Increaſe of *Wool* in *Ireland*, by which the *French* and *Dutch* Manufactures are now more plentifully ſupplied, and rather cheaper than the *Engliſh*.

22. While we kept *the Monopoly of Cloth*, our Merchants had many advantageous Opportunities: It gave the *Engliſh* an extraordinary Reputation. Page 171.

23. The *French Policies* have been induſtrious to ſuppreſs our *Engliſh Trade*. In the Year 1632, the Duty on an *Engliſh* Broad Cloth imported into *France* was ſix Livres. In 1644, it was raiſed to nine Livres. In 1654, to thirty Livres. In 1664, to forty Livres; and yet did the *Engliſh* continue to export conſiderable Quantities of our Woolen Cloths into *France*. But in 1667, it was raiſed to about eighty Livres, which is about fifty *per Cent.* Serges in the ſame Proportion; which was equal to a Prohibition. Page 194.

24. The Woolen Manufacture being our chief Jewel, we kept the Monopoly of it during the Reign of King *James* *, and for the greateſt Part of the Reign of King *Charles* the Iſt; by all which, and for that our Imports were leſs than of late they have been, the Balance of our Trade was kept up. Page 203.

* This Writer plainly knew little of what the Woolen Trade was, during the Reigns of King *James* and *Car.* I. (See particularly Chap. 32, 33, 34.)

CHAP. LXVII.

A Plea for the bringing in of Iriſh *Cattle*, &c. *By* John Collins *, *Accomptant to the Royal Fiſhery Company.* E Reg. Soc. Philomath. 1680.

To the Reader,

Preface. 1. *THIS Act being under Conſideration in Parliament, whether to be renewed, or not, there is an able Pen hath now undertook to defend the Importation of* Iriſh Cattle. *But hearing his Book is large; and fearing it may come out too late, when the Debate is over, have took the Opportunity to offer ſome ſudden Thoughts about the ſame, to prevent, if it may be, the fatal Subverſion to the Trade of* England, *which will thence enſue, as herein is ſhewed by a Well-wiſher to its Proſperity.*

John Collins.

Page 3. 2. The Right Honourable the Lord *Brereton*, lately deceaſed, lent me a Paper to peruſe, that was a Copy of a Report of the *Iriſh* Council of Trade, intended to be preſented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and Council

* 'Collins *John*, a Perſon of conſiderable Note among the Learned, in the ſeventeenth Century. His Education was ſuch, as diſpoſed his Mind to the full Purſuit of Truth, and formed and directed his Thoughts to diſtinguiſh rightly, and to reaſon juſtly. —— He compoſed ſeveral Treatiſes upon practical Subjects, which were publiſhed, and highly eſteemed. —— While *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftſbury* was Lord Chancellor, he nominated Mr. *Collins* in divers References concerning Suits depending in *Chancery*, about intricate Accounts, to aſſiſt in the ſtating thereof; which was ſome Emolument to him, and to the ſhortening of the Charge of the Parties concerned; from which Time eſpecially, his Aſſiſtance was often uſed in other Places, and by other Perſons; whereby he not only obtained ſome Wealth, but a great Name.'

General Dictionary, &c.

Council of *Ireland*, dated *March* 26. 1673, in Obedience to an Order of Council of *Jan.* 20. 1672, concerning the Trade and State of that Kingdom, what were its Aggrievances, and the Remedies. Amongſt other Articles, I find divers relating to *England*, viz. in Art. 15, it is alledged, that *Ireland* pays a yearly Debt to *England* of about 200,000 *l.* In Art. 16. (See Ch. 52. §. 8.)

3. The Caſe being thus, it is highly our Intereſt to admit not only *Iriſh Cattle*, but all their Commodities, to keep them by Agreement on equitable Terms (hereafter to be propounded) from furniſhing Foreigners; their Hides were formerly wrought into Shoes, and exported to the Plantations; as alſo Tallow. And as to their *Wool*, if they are permitted to export it, either manufactured, or unmanufactured, it will in time ruin all the Wool and Cloth Trade in *England*; for now they feed on their lean Cattle, export their Fat, and increaſe their *Flocks of Sheep*. In ſum, *Ireland* doth, and can, ſell to Foreigners, *Wool*, Hides, Tallow, Fleſh and Fiſh, at about one Moiety of what *England* can afford them at.

4. *Query*, Have we, or is it fit we ſhould have a Power over *Ireland*, to hinder them from ſelling their Commodities in foreign Parts, when we will not have them ourſelves? If we have, it is not well obſerved; of which take the following Narrative.

5. Mr. *Euclid Speidell*, a *Cuſtom-Houſe* Officer, informs, that in the Year 1678, there were 40 Ships lading of Wool ſhipped off from *Ireland*, that, according to Cockets, ought to have been unladed in *England*; but none of it arrived here; the Contents he knew not.

6. Secondly, Suppoſe that Act paſs, and *Iriſh* Cattle are barred out; and this, in Favour to the Weſtern and Northern Parts, or breeding Grounds. I ſay, his Majeſty, and the Eaſtern and Southern Parts are, for the preſent, the Loſers. 1. His Majeſty loſeth moſt of the Cuſtoms of 32,000 *l.* a Year, and alſo much by the Over-dearneſs of Proviſions for his Navy. 2. The Kingdom loſeth the Navigation between *England* and *Ireland*, and conſequently the Employment of 3 or 400 Sail of Ships, and the Breeding of Mariners accordingly. Page 6.

3. The Eaſtern and Southern Ports have loſt the victual- Page 7.

ling

ling of the *Dutch*, and our own Merchantmen, as may be plentifully proved from the Searchers Office at the *Cuſtom-Houſe*; and 'tis already aſſerted in Print, that our Ships, for the moſt Part, Weſterly or Southerly bound, victual but for ſix Weeks, and take in the reſt of their Proviſions in *Ireland*, or *Iriſh* Proviſions in *Spain*, according to contract made for the ſame; whereupon I put this *Query*:

7. Shall *Engliſh* Ships be permitted to victual in *Ireland*, or not? If yea, then our Proviſions are not ſpent at Home, contrary to the Policy in keeping Cattle out; and our Money muſt be returned to purchaſe them there. If the *Engliſh* ſhall not be allowed to victual there, I further enquire, ſhall the *Iriſh* be permitted to carry their Proviſions abroad, or ſell them to Strangers at home, or both? Have we Power to impoſe upon them? If they ſhall be permitted to carry them abroad, our Proviſions cannot obtain foreign Vent, as being much dearer than theirs. And when they export their Proviſions, they will alſo export their Commodities, and furniſh their Returns. Of this take the following Inſtance, *viz.* A Sea Commander, Captain *Swaine*, informs, that, for 5 Years paſt, there were ſeldom leſs than 20 *Iriſh* Ships frequently at *Dunkirk*, laden with Beef, Tallow, Hides, and Leather, much Butter, and ſome Wool; and that all the Capers or Privateers, for that time, were furniſhed with theſe Proviſions. That divers other *Iriſh* Ships furniſh'd *Oſtend*, and many of them he hath ſeen at *Nantz*, *Burnet*, *Rochel*.

8. Hence we muſt either allow *Ireland* a free Trade with others, to the Subverſion of the Cloth Trade of *England*, &c. or by Agreement with them on equitable Terms, get ſo high a Duty laid on their Commodities, as may, if exported by Foreigners, or by themſelves, unleſs to *England*, render them of equal, rather higher Value, than the like Commodities in *England*, and then take off as many of them as we can, and furniſh them to others (after Improvement here) at the ſecond Hand. The latter, if we would avoid our own Deſtruction, is the Choice to be made. Hence their Cattle, &c. ought not to be refuſed.

9. The prime Reaſon for barring foreign Commodities, holds not in this Caſe. The *Iriſh* Cattle in queſtion, with

with their Hides, Tallow, and Wool, are not ſo much imported for our Expence, as to ſhip off, to furniſh foreign Markets withal.

10. As to that Straw, that unleſs Proviſion be dear, the People will be lazy, and will not work. 'Tis granted, Neceſſity begets Induſtry; yet notwithſtanding, if ſome will be idle, it follows not, that all, or the major Part will be ſo. Moreover Goodneſs, and Cheapneſs, are the main Inducement to put off any Commodity: And it cannot be well apprehended how Labour ſhould be cheap, and Work plenty, where Proviſions are dear; where one riſeth, the other doth ſo likewiſe: As at *London*, and in other Places, where Proviſions are deareſt, Labour is deareſt. And to make Proviſions dear as a Means to make the Poor work, is the ready way to drive them into foreign Plantations. Page 10. Page 11.

11. *Some Obſervations made by* W. P. *upon the Trade of* Iriſh *Cattle.* The Owners of breeding Lands have, ſince the Prohibition, not gotten above 10*s.* *per* Head more for their Cattle than before it; which the Owners of the feeding Lands have paid them, and loſt. Moreover the Mariners of *England* have loſt the getting of 9*s.* 6*d.* *per* Head for Freight and Primage. And the People of *England* have loſt 4*s.* 6*d.* *per* Head more for driving and grazing; the King hath loſt 3*s.* 6*d.* *per* Head Cuſtom on both ſides, beſides Officers Fees; and the Traders in Hides and Tallow have loſt what they might have gained out of 14*s.* *per* Head; and the Merchants and Artizans of *England* have loſt what they might have gained by 140,000*l.* Worth of *Engliſh* Manufactures; the Wool-growers of *England* have loſt as much as their Wool is fallen, by reaſon of the extraordinary Sheep-walks now in *Ireland*; the Landlords of *Ireland*, reſident in *England*, have loſt 5 *per Cent.* extraordinary for Exchange of Money. Laſtly, The Bulk of the People of *England* have loſt one Halfpenny for every Pound of Fleſh Meat they have ſpent, amounting, for all *England*, to about 2,000,000*l.* *per An.*; of which great Sum, the Owners, even of breeding Lands, have paid three times more in the Enhanſement of Wages and Manufactures, than they got by the raiſed Price of their Cattle above-mentioned. Page 32.

12. Here

Page 33. 12. Here it is not improper to acquaint the Reader, that *Ireland*, before the Rebellion, was planted with native *Iriſh*, and the Lands were in their Poſſeſſion; but now after ſo great a Deſolation and Deſtruction as the Wars made, moſt of the Lands were planted and peopled by the *Scotch* and *Engliſh*, who adventured their Lives and Fortunes in reducing it, who carried over with them the beſt Cattle, Horſes, and Sheep, *England* could afford, where they have raiſed ſuch a Breed, as will compare with the beſt in *England* for Largeneſs and Fatneſs; and the Wool, Butter, and Cheeſe, there raiſed, is not inferior to what is produced in *England*.

13. The Laws there are made by a Parliament, conſiſting of moſt *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, which aim eſpecially to encourage the making of Cloth and Woolen Manufactures, to the End they may ſupply foreign Markets. And they do by their Laws diſcourage the bringing of Wool into *England*, and have laid a great Cuſtom upon all Cloth, Stuffs, Stockings, and Hats, that ſhall be imported out of *England*. This they do acknowledge in Print, and that they have furniſhed *Holland*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Streights*, plentifully with Proviſions.

14. Againſt this whole Diſcourſe may be raiſed the following grand Objection, that the Admiſſion of *Iriſh* Cattle cauſeth Rents of breeding Grounds exceedingly to fall, contrary to the Intereſts of the Owners and Farmers thereof; and this is the Reaſon why Cattle, in themſelves, a Bleſſing, are called a Nuſance ‖. The Objection is granted *. But on the other ſide, the Owners of

‖ 18 *Car.* II. c. 2.

* But if, as before aſſerted, (§. 11.) the Owners even of breeding Lands, have paid three times more in the Enhanſement of Wages, *&c.* than they got by the ſuppoſed advanced Price of their Cattle, why is this Objection ſo readily granted? Or rather why is it made an Objection? For what, if the Admiſſion of *Iriſh* Cattle would cauſe the Rents of breeding Lands to fall? Would not the Owners, upon the foregoing Suppoſition, be ſo far compenſated another Way, as to have it in their Power to make their Tenants eaſy, and yet be Gainers themſelves? But whatever Effects this Alteration was judged to have produced, at firſt, in the Price of Fleſh and lean Cattle, I cannot think it to have been a ſubſiſting Difference. For if inſtead of a *foreign*

of feeding Grounds, the merchandizing and trading Part of the Nation, or Corporations, who bear above two third Parts of the Charge of the Government, ſuſtain the greater Wrong, which in the Event will be very prejudicial, if not ruinous to the whole.

15. I myſelf have my Life in Lands, in *Marſhland*, in the County of *Norfolk*, which fell from 32*l.* to 17*l.* a Year, but is of late riſen to 21*l.* a Year. I know ſome Gentlemen, Owners of feeding Grounds in our *Midland* Counties, whoſe Rents are fallen above one Quarter of what they uſually made before the *Iriſh Act* had a Being. They know not to what other Cauſe to impute it; and I have not Liberty to mention Particulars. Alſo there is a *London* Miniſter who hath Lands in *Glouceſterſhire*, which fell from 60*l.* to 30*l.* a Year; and both He and ſome Gentlemen aforeſaid, are forced to ſtock their Grounds, and keep them in their own Hands, committing the Management to Bailiffs. Page 35.

16. So that I hope, if the *Iriſh Act* do paſs, it will not

foreign Beef Trade, and the Benefit of *victualling altogether* the *Engliſh* Shipping, the *former*, by this Policy, has been wholly loſt from *England*, and, together with a Share of the *latter*, transferred to *Ireland*; in that Caſe, though the Stock of Cattle to be fed and conſumed in *England* be leſs, yet the Vent for Fleſh in *England* is leſs [p] alſo; conſequently not dearer on the Score of this Act (however it might be ſo, for other Reaſons) not to mention, that if it really was, the Kingdom could not poſſibly be a Gainer by the advanced Price of a Commodity conſumed entirely at Home [q]. As little can I imagine even the breeding Lands, in particular, to have received any Advantage from the Excluſion of *Iriſh* Cattle, in the long run, whatever they might do at the firſt. For it is to be conſidered, that in conſequence of this Alteration, many Lands have been turned to the breeding of Cattle, which uſed to be employed another Way. The Caſe, in ſhort, between Breeders and Feeders of Cattle, being juſt like that of Graſing, and Ploughing. There are, who are neceſſarily Breeders and Ploughmen. And there is Land, which is moſt ſuitable for feeding. But there is alſo a ſufficient Quantity of Land, which being of a middle Nature, is proper for either, and which the Occupiers convert from one to the other, as they ſee beſt, *i. e.* according as the Proſpect of a Price, for Wool, or Corn, or Cattle, urges them.

[p] See §. 7.

[q] See §. 9, 10.

not be perpetual *, and that in the Interim our Grandees will propoſe, and receiue Terms of Accommodation; of which, theſe muſt be the Conſequences. 1. The Poor will obtain Employment. 2. Navigation and Strength will encreaſe. 3. The Merchants and trading Part of the Nation will be encouraged.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Debates in Parliament: 1680.

1. The 9th of *November*, 1680.

A Petition from the Bailiffs, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants of the Company of Silk Weavers was read †.

2. Mr.

* But here (ſays Mr. *Coke*) is a greater Wonder yet to be told of this Parliament. 'For notwithſtanding all theſe 'Diſcords between the Lords and Commons, and between 'the King and the Lords and Commons, they agreed in 'making the Act againſt the Importation of *Iriſh Cattle*, '&c. perpetual, thereby to perpetuate the Diſcords be-'tween the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*, as much as 'thoſe between Whig and Tory.' *Coke*, vol. 2. p. 314.

† This Petition, we ſhall ſee [1], took its Riſe from a Bill depending in Parliament, at this Time, for the wearing of Woolen, as an Expedient (and a moſt reaſonable one, as the Law then ſtood, and yet ſtands, provided it was practicable) to promote the Intereſt of the Wool Grower. To which not only at this Time, but as often as any Thing of that Nature has been moved in Parliament, the Silk Weavers have immediately raiſed an Oppoſition with Succeſs. Yet, methinks, it is not difficult to ſhew, either the Impropriety of indulging ſuch Oppoſition, or elſe, of *prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool*. But that is not the only ſeeming Impropriety we meet with in this Kind. Almoſt every other Intereſt that can be mentioned, is let looſe upon the *Engliſh* Wool Grower; and He alone has his Hands tied behind him. This is engaging him in Society upon very unequal Terms. And the Caſe being ſo, we need not wonder at ſome Appearances to his Diſadvantage which will occur, before I come to the Concluſion of theſe Memoirs [2]. [1] §. 2. [1] See Ch. 74. §. 1. *Note*. [2] See Ch. 176. *P. S.*

2. Mr. *Speaker*, Sir, This Petition branches itſelf, *Firſt*, Againſt the Bill that is here a Foot, for wearing Woolen. *Secondly*, Againſt the Importation of foreign Silks from *France**: And *Thirdly*, Againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company. As to the two firſt Particulars, I ſhall deſire leave to ſpeak my Mind, when the Buſineſs comes to be debated in the Committee to which you may think good to refer it. But as to the third Branch, againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company, I deſire to be heard a little at this Time; for, Sir, it will be in vain for you to ſpend your Time in endeavouring to raiſe the Price of Wool, or to advantage the Trade of the Nation any Way, unleſs you do, in the firſt Place, make ſome Regulations for the *Eaſt-India* Trade. For not only the Silk Weavers, but moſt other Trades of this Nation, are prejudiced by the Conſumption of Goods manufactured in the *Eaſt-India*, and brought hither. For a great many of them are not only ſpent here, inſtead of our own Manufactures, but abroad in other Parts, to which we ſend them. They do us ſuch Prejudice, as muſt, in the End, be the Deſtruction of our Manufactury Trade, both at home and abroad, if not looked after; and the more likely, becauſe the People in *India* are ſuch Slaves, as to work for leſs than a Penny a Day; whereas ours here will not work under a Shilling; and they have all Materials alſo very reaſonable, and are thereby enabled to make their Goods ſo cheap, as it will be impoſſible for our People here to contend with them. And therefore, becauſe the ſaid Trade hath abundantly increaſed of late Years, that we may not enrich the *Indians*, and impoveriſh our own People, I humbly move you, that this Petition may be referred to ſome Committee that may take particular Care of it. Mr. *John Baſſet.*

3. Mr. *Speaker*, Sir, The Navigation to the *Eaſt-India*, being by the Induſtry and long Experience of our Seamen, rendered as ſafe and ſecure, as to any Country adjacent, and the Trade increaſed to a great Proportion, by ſuch a dangerous Way, as the Exportation of our Bullion, Mr. *John Parkhurſt.*

* See (Ch. 103. §. 6. *Note.*) An Eſtimate of the Advantage gained to *England* in this ſingle Article, in Conſequence of the Prohibition of Trade with *France*, *Ao.* 1678. See alſo Ch. 119. §. 9.

Bullion, and Importation of Abundance of manufactured Goods, and ſuperfluous Commodities, and carried on by a few Men incorporated, who have made it their Buſineſs, by all Ways imaginable, to ſecure the Advantages therof to themſelves, and their Poſterities; not permitting the People in general to come in for any Share: I humbly conceive it may not be unſeaſonable to give you a ſhort Scheme of that Trade; and to make ſome Remarks, as well on the Trade, as the preſent Management thereof; it being ſettled in a Company, by
[t] Ch. 29. Virtue of a Charter granted [t] 1657, and confirmed by his Majeſty, ſoon after the Reſtoration.

Sir, It is well known what Advantage redounds to the Nation, by the Conſumption of our Manufactures Abroad and at Home; and how our Forefathers have always diſcouraged ſuch Trades, as tended to the Hinderance thereof. By the beſt Computation that can be made, we now ſpend in this Kingdom, *per Annum*, to the Value of 2 or 300,000*l.* Worth of Goods manufactured in the *Eaſt-India*: What Part thereof are ſpent inſtead of our Stuff, Serges, Cheneys, and other Goods, I leave to every Man's Judgment, that hath obſerved how their *Perſian* Silks, *Bengals*, printed and painted Callicoes, and other Sorts, are uſed for Beds, hanging of Rooms, and Veſtments of all Sorts. And thoſe Goods from *India*, do not only hinder the Expence of our Woolen Goods, by ſerving inſtead of them here; but alſo by hindering the Conſumption of them in other Parts too, to which we export them; and by obſtructing the Expence of Linen and Silks, which we formerly purchaſed, from our Neighbour Nations, in return of our Manufactures. For when that mutual Conveniency, of taking off their Goods in return of ours, failed, it is found, by Experience, that our Trade in our Manufactures is failed alſo. And Sir, this is not only at preſent, a great, but a growing Hindrance to the Expence of our Woolen Goods; for as it hath been obſerved to you, being the *Indians* do work for leſs than a Penny a Day, and are not without Materials at cheap Rates, we may rather tremble to think, than eaſily cal-
[u] See Ch. 87. culate, what this Trade may in Time amount [u] to; and may conclude, that it muſt certainly end in employing
P.S. Note. and enriching the People in *India*, and impoveriſhing our own. But,

But, Sir, this is not all. This Trade is carried on by the Exportation of 5 or 600,000 *l. per ann.* in Bullion; which is ſo uſeful a Commodity, as ought not to be exported in ſo great a Quantity; eſpecially ſeeing the Exportation thereof hath increaſed in ſome Years from 200,000 *l. per ann.* to 600,000 *l. per ann.* For it may increaſe to Millions, to the Diſcouragement of the Exportation of the Products of our Country; upon which the Maintenance of our Poor, and Rent of Land depends. Whereas by the Exportation of ſo much Bullion, no immediate Advantage redounds to the Nation; and though it is uſually affirmed, that the Trade brings back as much Money as it exports, yet, upon an Inquiry, it will be found a Miſtake. And I think every Nation, but eſpecially this, (which is ſo well ſtored with other Commodities for Trade) ought to be very jealous of a Trade, carried on by the Exportation of our Gold and Silver, and to be very careful how to allow it; it being dangerous to make that which is the Standard of Trade, Merchandize itſelf. Chap. 70. §. 4.

And as * ——— ——— ———

4. Mr. *Speaker*. Sir, by the Account which hath been given you of the *Eaſt India* Trade, I doubt not but you are ſenſible, how that it will in time ruin a great Part of the Trade of our Manufactures, if not prevented. The *Eaſt India Company* have been very induſtrious to promote their own Trade, but therein have given a great Blow to the Trade of the Nation. Mr. *William Love.*

The *Indians* knew little of dying Goods, or ordering them, ſo as to be fit for our *European Markets*, until the Company ſent from hence *Engliſhmen* to teach them, which I am afraid this Nation will have Reaſon to repent hereafter. For the Cheapneſs of Wages and Materials in the *Indies* muſt enable the *Indians* to afford their manufactured Goods cheaper than any we can make here; and therefore it is probable the Trade will increaſe prodigiouſly; which may be a good Motive for you to take into your Conſideration that Part of it, in which

* What remains of this Speech, relates to the then Management of the *Eaſt India Company*, in their corporate Capacity, which, as more foreign to my Subject, I therefore omit.

the Conſumption of our Manufactures is concerned. They have already ſpoiled the *Italian* and *Flanders* Trade, with their Silks and Callicoes; now they will endeavour to ſpoil the *Turkiſh* Trade, by bringing abundance of raw Silk from the *Indies*. So that ere long *we* Chap. 70. *ſhall have no need of having Silk from* Turky; *and if not,* §. 10. *I am ſure we ſhall not be able to ſend any Cloths, or other Goods there.* And it cannot be expected that the *Indians* ſhould grow weary of exchanging their manufactured Goods for our Gold and Silver, nor the Company, of the great Gains they make by their Trade; and therefore unleſs prevented by your Care, the Trade will go on to your Prejudice, the Company having been induſtrious to ſecure themſelves againſt all other Attempts, by New-Year's Gifts, employing of ſome Mens Money at Intereſt, and getting others into the Company, then chuſing them of the Committee, though they underſtand no more of Trade, than I do of Phyſick; alſo naming of Ships by great Mens Names is made uſe of for the ſaid Purpoſe, and Oaths which they impoſe on all Perſons they employ in any Buſineſs of Importance, ſo that there is no ordinary Way left to reach them. Therefore, Sir, I hope that you will refer the Buſineſs to ſome Committee that may make you a ſpeedy Report.

[w] §. 1. 5. *Reſolved, That the ſaid Petition* [w] *be referred to the grand Committee for Trade, and they are to proceed upon the ſame in the firſt place; and they are then likewiſe to conſider of the preſent State of the* East India *Company, and to report,* &c.*

CHAP.

* This Reſolution, and perhaps a Report of the Committee, gave Occaſion to the Tract wrote by Sir *Joſiah Child*, which is contained in the next, and the following Chapter; which Tract may be conſidered as an Anſwer to all the Arguments of the foregoing Speeches, *i. e.* ſo far as he thought it proper to anſwer them; for it may be obſerved, that he wiſely declined taking any Notice of what Mr. *Love* (§. 4.) had objected to the Company about their carrying over Dyers, *&c.* to inſtruct the *Indians* how to ſuit their Manufactures to the *European* Taſte. *And*, N. B. *This whole Affair is to be conſidered chiefly, as a Controverſy and Matter of Strife between the two great Trading Companies of* England, *viz. to* Turky, *and the* East Indies; *the*

CHAP. LXIX.

A Treatiſe, wherein is demonſtrated, That the East-India Trade *is the moſt national of all Trades, &c.*

By Φιλοπάτρις *, 1681.

General Opinions.

1. MErchants, while they are in the buſy and eager Proſecution of their particular Trades, although they be very wiſe and good Men, are not always the beſt Judges of Trade, as it relates to the Profit and Power of a Kingdom. The Reaſon may be, becauſe their Eyes are ſo continually fixed, and their Minds intent upon what makes for their peculiar Gain or Loſs, that they have not Leiſure to expatiate or turn their Thoughts to what is moſt advantageous to the Kingdom in general. This, I am told, was the Opinion anciently of *M. T. Cicero*,

the former being rivalled by the latter, more eſpecially in the Importation of raw Silks. Not but the East India Company *importing wrought Silks alſo, and other Manufactures of the* East Indies, *for home Conſumption, was a real,* and, at this Time [x], *a growing Grievance. However, we are to look upon the four Gentlemen who have ſpoke in this Debate, as Advocates for the* Turky Company; *and Sir* Joſiah Child, *in the two following Chapters, as pleading for the* East India Company; *and who not only repreſents the* Turky Company *as their open Enemies, but the* Dutch *alſo; as at the Bottom of that Oppoſition, which was now raiſed againſt them. But whether this Suggeſtion had more in it of Truth, or Artifice [y], does not ſo clearly appear.*

[x] Ch. 87. §. 3.

[y] Ch. 79. §. 17.

* The *Britiſh Merchant* (Vol. I. p. 182.) ſays, this Pamphlet was wrote by Sir *Joſiah Child*, or at leaſt by his Direction, and approved of by the Court of Committee of the *Eaſt India* Company. And whoever compares it with ſeveral Paſſages in his Diſcourſe of Trade, will eaſily be convinced that it was of his penning altogether.

T. Cicero, and also *Boden*, that learned *French* Author, and lately of the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, who was a principal Engineer in the Act of Navigation. But whether it was their Opinion or not, I am sure it's true, by manifold Experience; of which I could give pregnant Instances in the Age we live in, and former Councils of Trade, since his Majesty's happy Restauration, but that I design Brevity, and to avoid all personal Reflexions. The like may be said of all Shopkeepers, Artificers, Clothiers, and other Manufacturers, until they leave off their Trades, and being rich, by the Purchase of Lands, become of the same common Interest with most of their Countrymen.

2. And upon the same Reason, I am of Opinion, and have found by Experience, that a mixed Assembly of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants, are the best Constitution that can be established for the making of Rules, Orders, and By-Laws, for the carrying on any Trade for the publick Utility of the Kingdom.

3. That all Domestick or foreign Trade, to any Place or Country, that doth not in the Result and Consequence of it, increase the Value of our *English* Lands (the good Plight whereof is the main Basis of our Wealth, Freedom, and Safety) ought not only to be discouraged, but totally rejected.

4. That all Monopolies of what Nature and Kind soever, are destructive to Trade, and consequently, obstructive to the Increase of the Value of our Lands.

5. That those narrow Clauses in the *Turkey* Company, and other Charters, which limit the Traders to be Freemen of *London*, &c. are to the Prejudice of the Nation in general, though they may be for the Advantage of particular Traders, for which I suppose they were calculated.

6. I am of Opinion, the *Dutch*, *nationally Speaking*, are the wisest People now extant, for the contriving and carrying on their Trades for the publick Advantage of their Country. If any shall here object, that if it be so, I am mistaken in my former Notion [z], that Merchants are not always the best Judges of Trade; for the *Dutch* have most Merchants in their Councils: The Honourable Sir *W. Temple*, hath already answered for me, that their Councils are made up of very few or no trading Merchants,

[z] §. 1.

Merchants, but of Civilians, or Sons of Merchants, that have long since left off their active Trades, and have only now Stock in their *East* and *West-India* Companies, or in their *Banks* and *Cantores*, or any other publick Fonds.

7. That though the Dominion of the Sea may be maintained by Arms, and fortunate Battles at Sea, it can never be retained, preserved, and maintained, but by the Excess and Predominancy of foreign Trade.

8. That Domestick and foreign Trade do (as we vulgarly say of Twins, but more truly of Trade) wax and wain together; and if it were not an Impropriety of Speech, Land might be coupled with them.

9. I am of Opinion, that Silver and Gold, coined or uncoined [a], though they are used for a Measure of all other Things, are no less a Commodity than Wine, Cloth, or Stuff, *&c.* and may in many Cases be exported, as much to national Advantage, as any other Commodity. [a] Ch. 68. §. 3.

10. That no Nation ever was, or will be, considerable in Trade, that prohibits the Exportation of Bullion.

11. That though it may be best to be left free and indifferent, it is more for the publick Advantage to export Gold or Silver coined, than uncoined: By the former, we gain the Manufacture, and something of Honour and Magnificence it is to have his Majesty's Royal Stamp pass current in all Parts of the World.

CHAP. LXX.

The East-India *Trade the most National:* By Sir Josiah Child, 1681.

1. *THAT the* East India *Trade is the most national of all foreign Trades, is thus proved, viz.* What the *Dutch*, *French*, *Danes*, *Portugals*, and which not long since, the *Swedes*, and now the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, have with so great Charge and Expence attempted, and hedged about with Laws and Encouragements, must Page 6.

certainly be a Matter of the greateſt national Conſequence.

2. This Trade employs more great warlike Ships, than all the Trades of the World, from *England*, beſides.

3. This Trade alone furniſhes us with Salt-Petre.

4. Above four Fifths of the Commodities imported by this Trade, are re-exported into foreign Parts; by the Returns of which, more than treble the Bullion [b] is imported, that was firſt exported to *India*, and the Wealth of this Kingdom as greatly increaſed, as by the direct Trade to, and from, the *Eaſt Indies*.

[b] Ch. 68. §. 3.

Page 7. 5. Moſt of the *Eaſt India* Commodities are of ſo ſmall Bulk, that if the Trade were not in *Engliſh* Hands, the Commodities would nevertheleſs come in from *Holland*, (as the *French* [c] Silks now do) then we ſhould pay as much for Pepper, which we now ſell for 8 *d.* a Pound, as we do for Nutmegs, Cloves, Mace, Cinnamon, which is from 6 *s.* to 14 *s.* *per* Pound. Tho' the two laſt are cheaper at the Places of their Growth, than Pepper is at *Bantam*; but enhanced to that Price, by the *Dutch* having the ſole Trade for them. By which I conclude this Company ſaves the Kingdom in that reſpect only 500,000 *l. per ann.*

[c] Ch. 68. §. 2. *Note.*

6. All Riches and Power in Nations is comparative; conſequently whatever weakens or depopulates our neighbour Nations, *French*, *Dutch*, *&c.* enricheth and ſtrengtheneth *England*. And moſt certain it is, that no foreign Trade doth ſo work upon the Manufactures of our neighbour Nations, as this Trade of the *Eaſt Indies*; for the Staple Countries for Silks and fine Linen are, *Italy*, *France*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, *&c.* inſomuch as it is reaſonably computed, thoſe Countries, by the Importation of *Eaſt India* Silks and Callicoes, not only into *England*, but from *England* into their own Countries, are abated in thoſe fine Manufactures, above a Million of Pounds *Sterling per ann.*

Page 8. 7. And which is a Conſideration of great Weight, and may be of immenſe Advantage, *England* hath already the principal Trade of Woolen Manufactures, and now a quicker Vent and Export for them, than ever it had in the Memory of any Man living. But throughout *Chriſtendom*, I have ever been of Opinion that, generally ſpeaking, there are more Men and Women employed in Silk

Silk Manufactures than in Woolen; of which likewiſe *England* hath obtained a conſiderable Part, conſidering the ſhort Time ſince our Silk Broad-weaving began; which was but ſince Mr. *Burtimach* brought in Silk-Dyers and Throwſters, towards the latter End of the late King *James*, or Beginning of King *Charles* the Firſt. And I am credibly informed, the Number of Families, employed therein already, doth amount to above 40,000. Now what ſhould hinder, but that in a few Years more, this Nation may treble that Number in ſuch Manufactures; ſince the *Eaſt India* Company have of late Years found out a Way of bringing Raw Silk of all ſorts into this Kingdom, cheaper than it can be afforded in *Turky*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, or any other Place where it is made. Inſomuch as with *Eaſt India* Silks we ſerve *Holland*, *Flanders*, and ſome other Markets, from *England*.

8. This Trade pays his Majeſty about 60,000 *l. per ann.* Cuſtom; and carries out of this Kingdom yearly 60 or 70,000 *l.* in Lead, Tin, Cloth, Stuffs, &c. Which is not ſo conſiderable with reſpect to the Quantity, as in this, that what we ſend to the *Eaſt Indies* of our own Manufactures, would not be ſent at all, if the *Engliſh* Nation were deprived of this Trade; becauſe neither *Dutch* nor *French* would enure the *Eaſt Indians* to our *Engliſh* Manufactures. Of which we have a clear Inſtance in the *Dutch* Trade to *Japan*, where they induſtriouſly avoid introducing our *Engliſh* Cloth. Which Country being exceeding large, rich and populous, and lying in ſuch a Northern Latitude, might vent as much of our *Engliſh* Manufactures as *Spain* and *Portugal*, if we could gain a Footing in that Trade. In the Endeavour whereof, the Company hath already loſt above 50,000 *l. Sterling*.

9. Though the Company have loſt ſo much in the Attempt of the Trade of *Japan*, they have lately got an Entrance into the Trade of *Couchin China* and *China*; and have, for a few Years paſt, ſettled Factories in the three Ports thereof, *viz. Tywan*, *Tonqueen*, and *Amoy*, to their great Charge and Expence, without reaping any Profit thereby to this Time, but a certain conſtant Loſs; which they did, and do continue notwithſtanding, out of a Zeal they have to promote the Conſumption of our

Woolen Manufactures, in a Climate not altogether ſo hot as moſt Parts of *India* are, which probably may, in ſome Time, turn to the publick Advantage of this Kingdom, when thoſe raging and bloody Wars between the *Chineſe* and the *Tartars* are ended.

Page 12. 10. But, ſay the *Turkey* Merchants, *the bringing in of ſo much Silk, and ſo cheap, is a publick Nuſance, and deſtroys our Trade, which depends wholly upon the Woolen Manufacture; whereas the* East-India *Company ſend out little Manufacture; and much Bullion.*

To which I anſwer, ſtrange it is, if making a Material cheap, that is to be manufactured at home, or re-exported to foreign Countries, ſhould be the publick Damage of any Country. 2. The *Turkey* Merchants do indeed ſhip out much Cloth; and more, ſince the great Increaſe of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, and ſince themſelves have made this Complaint, than they did in former Years. So that in Fact, it doth not follow, that the Increaſe of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, and particularly of their Importation of Silk, doth hinder or diminiſh the Exportation of Cloth to *Turkey*, but rather the contrary. 3. The Queſtion is not now, which Company ſends out moſt Woolen Manufactures, but which is the moſt profitable to the Nation. Which I hope I have proved the *Eaſt-India* Trade to be; eſpecially, if the aforementioned Conſideration be taken in, that what *Engliſh* Commodities the *Eaſt-India* Company exports, would not be exported at all, if the *Engliſh* had no Trade thither; Becauſe other Nations that trade thither, are under Joint Stocks and Political Councils, and conſequently would ſend none of our Manufactures. But as long as there is a Market for our *Engliſh* Cloth in *Turkey*, if the *Engliſh* did not ſend it thither, the *Dutch* would; becauſe in *Holland*, there is no *Turkey* Company; but any Man, Native, or Foreigner, may ſend what Commodities, and when they pleaſe, for *Turkey*, except they be ſtaid for Convoy by ſome Act of State. And where all Men have Liberty to trade at Diſcretion, they would naturally deal in thoſe Commodities they can get moſt by, be they foreign or domeſtick. 4. If Bullion be exported, and that hinder not the Exportation of our *Engliſh* Manufactures, as, in Fact, doth appear. And if for every 10*s.* Value ſent out, 30*s.* be brought in Bullion in the

long

long run, which is moſt evident in the Courſe of the *Eaſt-India* Trade; who can doubt but the Exportation of Bullion in ſuch a Trade, is a real and great Advantage to the Kingdom? 5. Beſides their Cloth, the *Turkey* Merchants do ſend out a great deal of Bullion themſelves; as appears by their Entries at the *Cuſtom-Houſe*: In which they do well for themſelves and their Country, but not well in complaining of others at the ſame Time, for the ſame Thing. 6. The Truth of the Caſe, at the Bottom, is but this. The Importation of better and cheaper raw Silk from *India*, may probably touch ſome *Turkey* [d] Merchants Profit at preſent; though it doth benefit the Kingdom, and not hinder the Exportation of Cloth. What then? muſt one Trade be interrupted becauſe it works upon another? At that rate, there would be nothing but Confuſion *ad infinitum*. The *Italian* Merchants may quarrel with the *Portugal* Merchants, becauſe they do now in a plentiful Year import from *Portugal* 4000 Pipes of Oil, when formerly they did not uſe to import above 100. With much more Probability of Truth, might the *Portugal* Merchants pretend that our Plantation Sugars ſpoil their Trade, and the Exportation of Woolen Manufactures to *Portugal*. Our Plantation Sugars have brought down their *Lisbon* Sugars from 8 *l.* 10 *s.* *per Cent.* to 2 *l.* 10 *s.* within my Memory; and yet the Exportation of Woolen Manufactures to *Portugal*, is now greater than ever it was ſince *England* was a trading Nation *. Juſt as it is, and will

[d] Ch. 68. §. 4.

The Price of Sugars from Portugal greatly abated.

* But ſee what the Author of *Britannia languens* ſays, Chap. 66. §. 20. *Note*. See alſo the *Britiſh Merchant*, Vol. 3. p. 82.[e] which ſays, that in this very Year 1681, 'one *Courteen*, an *Iriſhman*, a Servant in the Family of the 'then Queen of *England*, afterwards Queen *Dowager*, carried over ſeveral Clothiers and Bays-makers into *Portugal*, 'where they preſently ſet up the Manufactures both of 'Cloth and Bays, particularly at Port *Alegre* and *Cavilhan*.' See the Conſequences hereof, (Chap. 107.) Which ſhews, that though we ſhould admit Sir *Joſiah* to have repreſented theſe Things truly for the preſent, (which is ſomewhat difficult to believe) yet was he much out in his Expectations for the future. But having undertook to be an Advocate for the *Eaſt India* Company, he has ſtuck at nothing, to defend it.

[e] *See* Ch. 106.

will prove in the *Turkey* Trade. The Simile holds, and will hold throughout.

Page 18. 11. It is further objected to the *East India Trade*, *That beſides raw Silk, the Company imports wrought Silk, to the Prejudice of the Silk Manufacture in* England.

Anſw. This Objection lies as much or more againſt all other wrought Silks imported into *England*, from *Italy*, *Holland*, or any other Part of the World. 2. The Silks which the Company commonly bring in, are, the main Part of them, Taffaties, and other plain or ſtriped Silks, and Pelongs, ſuch as are not uſually made in *England*, but imported from *France*, *Italy*, and *Holland*; where lately when Pelongs were ſcarce, many were made and imitated at *Harlem*, and from thence imported into *England*. So this Importation works upon our Neighbours, preſerves the Balance of our Trade, and conſequently increaſeth the Capital of our Nation. 3. And which

Page 19. is beyond all Contradiction, as will appear by the Entries at the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, a great Part of the wrought Silks, imported by the *Eaſt-India* Company, are again ſhipped out to *France*, *Holland*, and other foreign Parts.

12. *Some Clothiers complain, that the* Eaſt-India *Company hinders the Vent of Cloth.*

Anſw. This indeed is a fine Practice, and deſerves a thorow Inſpection. 1. Who they are that complained, 2. When and how they began to complain. 3. Why they complain. 1. For the Time when; it was in the Year 1674 or 1675, as I remember: Then they had the Confidence to tell the Parliament, the Company would ſpoil the Trade of Cloth, and bring the Price of Wool to nothing. But, in Fact, the Company has now ſtood 5 or 6 Years, ſince that Time, and much augmented their Trade for *India*? but Wool is advanced, in Price, above 50 *per Cent.*; and ſuch a Trade there is, and hath been, for Woolen Manufactures, as *England* never ſaw in any former * Age. 2. Who they were that

* I am here to reconcile a ſeeming Difference between
f Ch. 66. the Author of *Britannia languens*, a Work f publiſhed *ann.*
g §. 8. 1680, and this Tract of 1681. The former has ſaid g, that *Engliſh* Wool in *England*, was then at 12 *s.* and 13 *s. per Tod*; and Sir *Joſiah*, that it was now (1681) riſen 50 *l. per Cent.* Theſe are Facts, in which the reſpective Authors could

that complained; not the poor *Kentiſh* Clothiers, who have loſt their Trade; nor the *Suffolk* Men that have loſt their Manufacture of blue Cloth; but the *Worceſterſhire*, Page 20.

could not be miſtaken, would not venture to miſrepreſent very much. And tho' ſuch a Difference might happen in a ſhort Space; and we have known the like Inſtances, particularly in the Years 1717 and 1743 [h]; yet, whereas Sir *Joſiah* ſays further of this Time, 'Such a Trade there is, 'and hath been for Woolen Manufacture, as *England* ne'ver knew in any former Age.' This is a Point, in which poſſibly he might be miſtaken; and as he has not ſaid, neither has it any where occurred to me, what was the Amount of the *Engliſh* Woolen Exportations, at this Time, I therefore ſuſpend my Belief ſomewhat as to that Particular. But, that there was an Advance in the Price of Woolen Goods, and probably an Increaſe in the Quantity exported, we know from a collateral Teſtimony of the *Britiſh Merchant*, (Vol. 1. p. 184.) who ſays, 'Colcheſter Bays were 'worth about *Michaelmas* 1676 but 17 *d.* ½ *per* Ell.

1677 —— 16 *d.* ½
1679 —— 18 *d.* ½
1680 —— 23 *d.* ½
1681 —— 24 *d.* ½

'And (ſays he) I refer to the Books and Accounts of all 'our Merchants, whether, in general, the Value of all our 'Woolen Manufactures did not increaſe in Proportion, 'from the Year 1678; alſo our principal dying Wares.'

h Ch. 171.

N. B. In 1678, the [i] Parliament prohibited the *French* Trade; and to this Prohibition the *Britiſh* [k] *Merchant* aſcribes this Revolution in the Trade of *England*. But, as he pitches afterwards, as we ſhall ſee, upon the Year 1699, for the higheſt Year of Woolen Exports, within his Cognizance, to the Time of his writing, *viz.* 1713. In which Year, 1699, they did not amount to *Three* Millions; and as Mr. *King*, and Dr. *Davenant*, calculated the whole Woolen Exports, upon a Medium, before the Year 1700, at but *Two Millions per ann.*; which I take to be leſs, all things conſidered, than what we have Reaſon to conclude of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, from [l] *Camden* and [m] *Wheeler*; THEREFORE I am inclined to think, that tho' the Woolen Trade of *England* was conſiderably amended in this Period, from what it had been a few Years before, and all along from the *Reſtoration*, (and this, for Reaſons mentioned by the *Britiſh Merchant*, without any Thanks due for the ſame to the then *Eaſt India* Company, but the Reverſe) yet was it

i Ch. 62.
k Ch. 72. §. 12. *Note.*
§. 1. *Note.*
l Ch. 20.
m Ch. 25.

ſhire, *Glouceſterſhire*, and *Somerſetſhire* Men, that do now make and vend above twenty times the Quantity of Cloth, which they did before this Company was erected. 3. How they began to complain; which, as I have been informed, was thus: Their firſt Petition was drawn only againſt the *Turkey* Company, for making but one Cloth Shipping in a Year; but entertaining a certain Council (ſince famous for other Matters) he told them, for ſome Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, they ſhould draw their Petition againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company likewiſe; which accordingly they did; but whether they were *Dutch* or *Engliſh* that paid the beſt Fees, that I could never diſcover. 4. Why they complained. That I believe few of them underſtood: It could not be becauſe their Trade

it not (what Sir *Joſiah* ſays) *ſuch as never had been known in any former Age.*

However, we are ſufficiently informed, that Wool had riſen from 12 and 13, to 18 or 19 *s. per* Tod. But between what Times? Sir *Joſiah* publiſhed his Tract early in 1681. *Britannia languens* is dated 1680. But this latter being a Book of ſome Size, was probably ſet to the Preſs in 1679; and being certainly ſome time in preparing for the Preſs, might be wrote before the Price of Wool had advanced.

Here note further; The *Britiſh Merchant* ſays, 'Spaniſh 'Wool in 1678 was 20 and 21 *d. per* Pound; in 1680, 26 and 28 *d.*' But how the Price of *Spaniſh* Wool ſhould depend much upon the State of the *Engliſh Trade only*, is not ſo eaſily conceived; ſince that muſt be governed alſo by the Markets of *Spain*, *viz.* the whole Quantity there, and the whole Demands from thence, to *France*, *Holland*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *&c.* as well as *England*.

[m] Ch. 60. §. 5. *Note.* This confirms me in an Opinion I have elſewhere [m] delivered, *viz.* *That the Price even of* Engliſh WOOL, *in* England, *is more governed by the general Market of* Europe, *and the* World at large, *for that Commodity*, WOOL, *than by any Circumſtance relating to the* Engliſh Trade *in particular*. And it makes me think, that although the *Engliſh Woolen Trade* was certainly amended at this Period; yet if the Price of Wool had not advanced abroad alſo at the ſame time, the Engliſh *Wool-grower* would have received no great Advantage in the Price of his Wool, from ſuch Amendment of the Woolen Trade. *The State of the* Engliſh Woolen Trade,

[n] Ch. 176. *P. S.* *and the Price of* Engliſh Wool *in* England, ann. [n] 1737-8, *will juſtify this Obſervation and Opinion.*

Trade ſunk; for that was manifeſtly and wonderfully increaſed. It could not be becauſe the *Eaſt-India* Company, as a Company, ſent out leſs Cloth than was ſent for *India* in the open Trade: For the Entries at the *Cuſtom-Houſe* will evidence, that the Company, ſince their laſt Incorporation have ſent out, in ſome one Year, above ten times as much Cloth, as was ever ſent out in the Time of open Trade. But why then did they complain? Really I cannot tell; but peradventure their Council aforeſaid, or ſome *Turkey* Merchants, their Cuſtomers, might inform them, that if the Trade of *India* were open, there would be a new World for Cloth, that would vent as much as the old World. And if they had any *Dutch* or *French* Cuſtomers, no Queſtion they would not be backward to encourage ſo good a Work.

13. *The* Eaſt-India *Trade is more profitable and neceſſary to the Kingdom of* England, *than to any other Kingdom or Nation in* Europe.

The Trade of *India* is to *England*, not only a great, but an unmixed Advantage. Whereas to all our Neighbours, tho' the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies* be a great Advantage, and accordingly courted and coveted by them; yet they cannot have it without ſome Mixture of Loſs in other Reſpects; becauſe ſome of them have the Growth and Production of Silk among themſelves. They have likewiſe the ſole Manufacture of plain Silk, ſuch as Taffeties, Sarcanetts, *&c.* which are brought from *India* cheaper than they can make them at home. Whereas in *England*, our Silk Manufacture conſiſts in flowered Silks [o] and Fancies, ſtill changed as often as the Faſhion alters. *Holland*, *Flanders*, (and *France*, in ſome Meaſure) have their principal Manufactures in fine Linens, Cambricks, Lawns, and Hollands, which only Callicoe works upon. Whereas the Linen we make in *England*, is of the ſtrong coarſe Sorts, generally uſed by meaner People; which Callicoe doth not prejudice to any ſenſible Degree. Neither is the Linen Manufacture in *England* a Matter worth taking Notice of [p] (whatever a few Gentlemens Opinion is.) But in *Holland*, *Flanders*, *France*, and ſome Parts of *Germany*, it is their main Concern; being the Subſiſtence of the Majority of the People, as the Woolen Manufacture is in *England*.

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[o] *See* Ch. 87. §. 6---9.

[p] *See* Ch. 135. §. 3. *Note.*

14. The

14. The *Dutch* have a ſtanding Contract with the King of *Perſia* for all his Silk, which may amount to 600 Bales yearly. Now in regard, *Bengal* Silk in the *Eaſt-Indies*, can be brought cheaper to *Europe* than *Perſia* Silk: The *Dutch*, by bringing Silk from *Bengal*, muſt of Neceſſity, in ſome Kind, prejudice that Contract, in the Price of Silk, although it be the *Dutch* Companies own Contract, as well as the *Turkey* Merchants. Whereas we having no ſuch Contract in *Perſia*, do not work upon ourſelves as they muſt of Neceſ-
Page 40.
ſity: And yet they are wiſer thaa to ſlight the Trade of *Bengal* for that Cauſe. This Argument concerning the *Dutch* Contract in *Perſia*, is ſo fully confirmed by the Companies Advices, lately received from *Perſia*, that the *Dutch* there did lately deſire to be excuſed from receiving their Quota of Silk, which is 600 Bales yearly, upon Pretence of their Want of Money to pay for it; which notwithſtanding was forced on them by *Sheeke Ally Cawni* the Emperor's Governor there.

15. If it be here asked me, why the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, ſeeing *Perſia* is within their Charter, are not as wiſe as the *Dutch*, to make a Contract likewiſe with the King of *Perſia*? I anſwer, the *Dutch* got the Start of us in that, long before this Company was conſtituted, and we cannot poſſibly retrieve it yet: The *Perſians* being a People moſt difficult to be removed from what they have once determined.

16. If it be further retorted upon me, that by my own Confeſſion, the Importation of Silk from *India*, doth prejudice the *Engliſh Turkey* Merchants in the Price of their Silk here, I grant it: But what is that to *England* in general? It's the Intereſt of *England*, that we ſhould have Silk here (being a Material to be manufactured) cheaper than in any other Part of *Europe* where it grows; and ſo we ſhall infallibly, if the Company ſtand. But at the ſame Time, I do expreſsly deny that the making of Silk cheap in *England*, doth hinder the Exportation of our Woolen Manufacture to *Turkey*: The contrary being as evident as the Sun at Noon Day, as before is demonſtrated in theſe two pregnant Inſtances experienced and unanſwerable, *viz.* That as the Price of *Portugal* Sugars hath abated (in which formerly almoſt all our Returns from that Country, were made) we

have

have increaſed exceedingly in the Exportation of Woolen Manufactures to that Country; and even in our Trade to *Turkey* itſelf for many Years: And to this very Time, as the Price of *Turkey* Silk hath abated, the Exportation of our Woolen Manufacture hath increaſed; and ſo it will ſtill, though Silk ſhould come to half the Price it bears now in *England*. Upon the Proof whereof, by Time, I dare hazard all that little I have in the World [q]. Beſides, when all is done; and if the *Turkey* Merchants might have their Will, to the irreparable Damage of their common Country, what would they be better? except by an Act of Parliament we could as well hinder the *French*, *Dutch*, and other Neighbours, from trading in *Eaſt-India* Silk, as we can the *Eaſt-India* Company. Is not this dealing our Childrens Bread to Strangers? weakening ourſelves, and ſtrengthening our Enemies, whilſt they laugh and ſtand amazed at our Indiſcretion.

[q] Ch. 122. §. 3, 4. Ch. 101. §. 3. Ch. 102. §. 5. *Note.* §. 7. *Note.* Ch. 103. §. 5. *Note.*

17. If notwithſtanding all that hath been ſaid, the Company muſt be deſtroyed. God's Will be done. To write what I have, I thought my Duty to my Country; which having ſatisfied myſelf in the Performance of, I am not careful for Events; being always confident, that whatever the Parliament does, they will do it juſtly; and ſo wiſely as to make the beſt of a bad Bargain. I am perſuaded the *Dutch*, to have this Feat done, would eaſe our Lands a while, by giving us a Million of Pounds Sterling, if they knew where to find Chapmen (which God grant they never may) and I am ſure if they did pay two Millions [r], they would have too good a Bargain of it.

[r] Ch. 79. §. 17.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXI.

A Repreſentation of the Advantages from erecting and improving of Manufactories, more eſpecially that of Woolen Cloth; with an Anſwer to the Objections againſt this laſt; and an Account of the preſent State and Succeſs of the Manufactory at New Milnes *for* Woolen Cloth, Serges, Silk *and* Worſted Stockins, *and of the Rules and Methods obſerved by the* Undertakers *in the managing of it; with Propoſals to ſuch as ſhall be willing to join in that Work.* Edinburgh *printed,* 1683.

1. HOW great Inclinations our Kings have had, ever ſince the Year 1581, to encourage Manufactories in this Kingdom, may appear by the ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and Council, ſince that Time; ſome whereof are narrated in the 40th Act of the firſt Parliament, Seſſ. 1. *Charles* II. And in no Age did the Zeal of the Nation appear more for erecting of Manufactories and Societies, than ſince his Majeſties happie Reſtauration: As is evident by the foreſaid * 40th and 42d,

* 'That no Native or Stranger export Wool, nor Skins 'with Wool upon them, until made in Work, under the 'Pain, &c. That none foreſtall the Mercat of Wool, nor 'keep up the ſame to a Dearth, under the Pain againſt Re'graters; —— declaring always, that the *Exchequer* may 'licenſe the Export of Wool and Skins, as they ſhall ſee 'Cauſe. *Car.* II. Parl. 1. Seſſ. 1. c. 40. The Act is, '*Act for erecting of Manufactories.*' Abridgment of the *Scotiſh* Acts. By Sir *James Stewart,* 1702.

I ſhall here inſert the reſt of the Scotiſh Acts *on this ſame Head.*

Scotiſh *Acts from* James I. *to* 1702 *inclusive.*

'That no Wool be tranſported out of the Kingdom, under the Pain of Confiſcation thereof, and of the whole 'remanent Goods of the Owners and Tranſporters; and 'that

42d, 43d, 45th, 46th, 47th, and 48th, Acts of that Seſſion of his Majeſties firſt Parliament, and by the 20th Act of the 3d Seſſ. of the ſame Parliament.

2. But the effectual and ſerious Proſecution of theſe former Laws, was reſerved for the Years * of his *Royal Highneſſes* Commiſſion.

3. W

'that no Licence be granted contrary to this Act; but that 'the Purchaſers and Uſers thereof incur the ſame Pains. '*James* VI. Parl. 7. c. 113.' N. B. *This Act is againſt the Exceſs of coſtly Cleithing*, &c.

This Prohibition is ſubjoined to the Regulation then made of Mens Apparel.

'That Wool be not tranſported to *England*, nor ſold to 'any *Engliſhman* in *Scotland* or *England*, who tranſports 'the ſame to *England*, under the Pain of Eſcheat thereof; 'and of all the Moveables of the actual Tranſporters, as 'alſo of the Cauſers and Sellers thereof to be tranſported, 'Half to the King, and Half to the Apprehender, and 'Warding for ſix Months, and otherwiſe at the King's 'Will, annulling all Licences either granted, or to be grant-'ed. *James* VI. Parl. 12. c. 151.'

'Theſe Acts ratified, and all Licences in the contrary 'diſcharged; and the King promiſes to grant no ſuch Li-'cences for hereafter. *James* VI. Parl. 15. c. 250.'

All theſe (in the Time of *James* VI. during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*) *to oblige the* Scots *to wear their own Manufacture, of their own Produce.* (See above *N. B.*)

'Act ratifying all former Acts againſt the Exportation of 'Wool, and Skins with Wool on them, *Scots* or foreign, or 'Worſted, or Woollen Yearn, under moſt ſtrict Pains: 'And the Act is full and particular as to the Execution: 'But only to endure for five Years, and to the End of the 'next Seſſion of Parliament thereafter incluſive.'

'*Item*: The Importation of *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* Wool is 'forbidden under the like Penalties, 'till the firſt of *Janu-'ary* 1702; but the Prohibition of the Export of *Engliſh* 'or *Iriſh* Wool is only to indure to the End of the next 'Seſſion of Parliament incluſive.' *Will.* Parl. 1. Seſſ. 9. c. 9.

* The Duke of *York* went firſt to *Scotland*, *October* 27, 1679. He was in *England*, *Feb.* 24, 1679-80; departed again for *Scotland*, *Oct.* 20, 1680. As the King's High Commiſſioner, opened a Parliament there, *July* 28, 1681. *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 711-25.

Page 2. 3. We need not inſiſt upon the Advantages ariſing to a Nation from Manufactories. But being by his *Royal Highneſs* invited and encouraged to enter ourſelves in a Companie and Society of Clothiers, that Poſterity may reap Benefit and Profit by our Example, we conceive it our Duty, in Point of Gratitude, to give this Account of our Undertaking, and our Succeſs therein hitherto.

4. What is made of Wool, is either made uſe of in the Kingdom, or exported: and is either made of our own Country Wool, or *foreign*. If made uſe of within the Kingdom, and that it be of our own Wool; every Pound, ſuppoſe of the coarſeſt Wool, which is not worth 5 *d.* the Pound (reckoning 16 Ounces to the Pound) comes to yield, when made in Fingrams, (the coarſeſt of our Product) dy'd and dreſſed, 12 *d.* the Eln, and affords a Maintenance to Carders, Spinners, Weavers, Dyers, and Dreſſers.

5. And whereas, within theſe twenty or twenty four Years, ſeveral thouſand Pounds Sterling have been exported to *England* yearly, and beſtowed upon ſuch Serges, as are now ſold for 12 *d.* or 13 *d.* the Eln here, but then coſt 16 or 18 *d.* the Yard at *London*; there is not only none imported, but many thouſand Pounds Sterling worth ſent yearly to *Holland*, and Money brought here in *Specie* for them: Many ſent to the Plantations abroad; yea, many carried into *England* itſelf by Stealth (whence we were formerly furniſhed) and ſold there to good Profit. And though this Sort is made of the coarſeſt of Wool, and is almoſt the coarſeſt of Woolen Stuffs made in the Kingdom; yet much Benefit ariſes from the ſame, not only by ſaving the Export of ſo much Money, formerly beſtowed on ſuch; but alſo by occaſioning the Import of ſo much Money to the Kingdom.

6. And the Benefit and Advantage will be much more, when Time is employed in making finer Stuffs or Serges, as can be made appear by the making of that ſort of Serges, called *Stirling Serges*, where one Pound of our own Wool (not worth 8 *s. Scots* * the Troye Pound) ſhall

* In *Scotland*, before the Union, the *Scots* had their Pounds, Shillings, and Pence; but their Pound was but 20 Pence *Engliſh*, and the others in Proportion, *v. g.* the *Scotch* Shilling was but 1 Penny Sterling. (See *Chambers*'s Dict. *Coins*.)

ſhall yield two Elns of Serge, or thereabouts; which when dyed and dreſs'd in Cloth Colours, is ſold here in Retail with Profit for 24*s.* the Eln: And within theſe eight Years were wholly imported from *England*, and coſt there, albeit, not finer than this, always 21*s.* 2*d.* and 25*s.* 4*d.* Sterling the Yard.

7. And as more People are employed in making theſe Searges, requiring more Time in ſpinning and weaving; ſo when made, being double the Value and Price of the former, they do now not only ſave a great Sum of Money, which was yearly exported, and beſtowed on the like in *England*, but within theſe three Years, good Quantities have been exported to *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, *Spain*, and the *Weſt-Indies*, and other Places (as can be made appear); and it is but eight or ten Years at moſt, ſince any Quantities of them were begun to be made here.

8. To aſcend yet higher, to mixt Searges, Cloth Searges, and thoſe called in *France*, Serge *de Niſmes*, which can be made of the ſame Wool with the former, or not two Shillings *Scots* the Pound dearer, and yet do yield double or triple the Price; within theſe two Years, our People are come to a great Perfection in them, inſomuch, that ſeveral Pieces are made as fine, as any ordinarily made in *France* or *England*, whereby, alſo in a ſhort Time, a great Sum of Money formerly exported for buying theſe Goods, will be ſaved in the Country, and Money gained by Export.

9. But the moſt artificial and beneficial Commodity made of Wool is Cloth[1]; and the finer the Cloth be, the more Perſons are employed about it, and the Benefit of it the greater. This Manufactory of Cloth enricheth *England* and *Holland*. Nay, there are many more People employed, and much more Profit made, and Money imported by this Manufactory alone, than by all the other Manufactories in *England* joined together; it being almoſt incredible what vaſt Quantities of Cloths they make, what vaſt Sums of Money (beſides Goods) the Returns of the Cloths they yearly export to *Turkey*, the *Straits*, *Spain*, *Holland*, *Portugal*, *France*, *Hamburgh*, the *Weſt-Indies*, and many other Places, produce; and it is evident how immenſly beneficial it is: for were it not ſo, it had not continued ſo long amongſt them, nor had

[1] *See* Chap. 4. §. 16. *Note.*

had ſuch Endeavours been uſed, to monopolize it to their Nation.

10. But although their Example alone may ſufficiently demonſtrate the great Profit, that may ariſe to this Kingdom, from making of Cloth, above all other Woolen Manufactures, it is evident of itſelf. For *Firſt*, That it would ſave the greateſt Export of Money of any Manufactory, can be demonſtrated from the *Cuſtom-Houſe* Books. *Secondly*, That it may, and will, occaſion the greateſt Import of Money, is evident from the Example of our Neighbour Nation: And that even *Scotland* living and working, at leaſt as cheap, may ſend abroad and ſell as cheap as *England*. *Thirdly*, Becauſe the Labour is moſt conſiderable in the Price, of ſuperfine *Spaniſh* Cloth, for Inſtance, which is 17, 18, or 19 *s.* *per* Yard, when the prime Coſt of the Materials is not above 5 *s.* 4 *d.* So that the reſt is ſo much clear Gain for Labour.

11. We have already 726 conſtantly employed, beſides Wrights, Reedmakers, *&c.*; and the Premiſes conſidered, it is hoped that all well Wiſhers to the Country will not only obſerve the Laws made for the encouraging thereof, but alſo promote, and contribute to erect Cloth Manufactories themſelves.

12. But ſome object to this Deſign, the Novelty of it. *Secondly*, That we ſhall never be able to bring it to that Perfection as it is in *England*. *Thirdly*, That we ſhall never make it ſo cheap. *Fourthly*, That we ſhall never be able to furniſh the Country. *Fifthly*, That in the mean Time People cannot get Cloth. *Sixthly*, That it can never be hindered to be imported, and that the Laws * againſt its Import will not be put in Execution.

‘ Ch. 128. §. 13.

13. *Anſw.* 1. If Novelty be a good Argument againſt a good

* ‘That none import into this Kingdom (*Scotland*) any ‘Thread-Lace, Fringes, *&c.* of Gold and Silver, *&c.* — ‘and the wearing of any of the Premiſes after the firſt of ‘*April* 1682, is prohibited under the Pain of ——— ——— ‘That none import to this Kingdom any foreign Stuff or ‘Cloth made of Linen or Cotton, *Wool* or Lint, any foreign ‘Silk or Woollen Stockins. ——— And the Act contains ‘moſt ſtrict Orders to Cuſtomers and Searchers, and appoints ‘Informers and Judges for Execution. And it is declared ‘to be in Place of any former ſumptuary Law, anent Apparel, Chap. 2. Part 3. c. 12.’ *The Act is for encouraging of Trade and Manufactories.*

Abridgment of Scotiſh *Statutes. By* Sir James Stuart.

a good Work, there is an End of all Reformation, Invention, Improvement, *&c.* But, 2. It cannot be imagined, what ſhould, or can, hinder our coming to Perfection in making Cloth, except the private Intereſt of ſome (in vending foreign Cloth) obſtruct or retard it. Perfection comes by Time and Application. In the Space of two Years, our People have arrived to the making of Cloth, that would coſt 16*s.* Sterling the Ell in *England*; and are now upon making the fineſt Kinds; the Spinners who received the former Year 5*d.* receive now 9*d.* and 12*d.*; and Weavers, who received, the laſt Year, but 30, have now 45 and 50*s.* Sterling the Piece, by Reaſon of the Improvement of both. So that to affirm we ſhall never come to Perfection, is againſt Experience in other Arts, and what a little Time will demonſtrate to be falſe in Reſpect of this.

14. The Undertakers at *New Milnes*, doubt not but, in two Years more, to be able to ſell as cheap as any formerly made in *England*. But when all Prentices and work People, now learning and working there, ſhall come to diſperſe themſelves through the Country, and work by themſelves, and the Knowledge of it become more general; theſe doing then for themſelves, will work cheaper than any publick Work can, and will be able to ſell cheaper than our Neighbours. And as to the Diſadvantage the Country hath by the Reſtraint, that what Cloth is ſold, is extravagantly dear: We anſwer, That this Complaint is either concerning foreign Cloth imported through Stealth, or of the Cloth made in the Kingdom. In the former Caſe, it is too ſmall a Puniſhment to the Buyers, whoſe Pride, *&c.* prompts them to tranſgreſs the Laws, and thwart the publick Good. In the latter, it is a Calumny in the main; yet, in a few Years, we will undertake to ſell it cheaper than ever it was ſold in *Scotland*. But this cannot be in the Beginning, when we have all Proviſions to make of Looms, *&c.* great Salaries to pay to foreign Servants to inſtruct our People, good Fees and Wages to give them alſo, to draw them from their former Employments, and incline them to this, whereunto they were, at the Beginning, averſe.

15. *Fourthly*, Whereas it is pretended, that the Work at *New Milnes* will never be able to furniſh the Country:

That is moſt true; yet to that Length are they come in two Years, that from two Looms ſet up in *October* 1681, they have now 25 at Work for Cloth, and two for Searges, and have ordered ten more to be ſet up for Cloth, and will undertake to make of coarſe, middle, and fine, and ſuperfine Cloths, eight Pieces every Week of the Year; each Piece containing 27, 28, or 29 Ells of dreſſed Cloth, will amount to above 12,000 Ells in the Year; and ſome few more ſuch, with private Induſtry, would furniſh the Kingdom. Nor was it ever intended by the Undertakers to ſerve the whole Kingdom, but principally to be a good Example to others in ſo good and profitable a Work to the Nation. And the Act of Parliament, and Act of Council, intended not the Reſtriction upon foreign Cloth for the Advantage of any one Manufactory; but to encourage the upſetting of many. And it is exceedingly to be regretted, as a Diſgrace to our Nation, that ſo great Encouragement being given, ſo few publick Spirits ſhould be found to promote ſo good a Work.

16. And *Fifthly*, Whereas it is alledged, that in the mean time people generally want Cloth, and cannot be ſupplied. We anſwer, That although by the publick Reſtraint ſome may want Cloth, and ſome cannot preſently get ſuch fine Cloth, as formerly they have uſed; yet there is not any that need want Clothing, even of Woolen Stuff, Cloth or Searge, and that finer (although we want *Engliſh* Cloth) than the Generality of People in moſt Places do wear.

17. The ſixth Objection is, That the Import of foreign Cloth will never be fully obſtructed; and that the Laws againſt Importers will never be fully executed. To which we anſwer, 1ſt, Let every Objector conform himſelf, and there will be few Tranſgreſſors. 2dly, The firſt Motion for this Undertaking proceeded from his *Royal Highneſs*; it was at his Deſire, that twenty-four of us have ventured a conſiderable Part of our Stocks upon it, truſting to, and relying upon, the Execution of theſe Laws. And having now brought our Undertaking to a conſiderable Length, his Majeſty will not ſuffer ſuch good Laws to paſs unexecute, or to run into Deſuetude, to the Loſs and Diſadvantage of the Kingdom, the Diſappointment of his *Royal Highneſs's* good Intentions, and the Ruin of the Undertakers.

18. It

18. It may be yet objected, that former Works of this Nature were erected, as at *New Milnes*, *Aire*, and *Boningtown*, which were all left off, and given over.

But, 1. None of the Undertakers of these Works were Retailers of Cloth themselves; and so although they could make Cloth, seeing they could not sell it, they could not furnish Money to carry on the Work. 2. Their Stock was too small. 3. The same Methods were not taken, in those, as in this. For Example; they had their Servants on Days Wages, whereby they were cheated, and exacted upon; whereas we have Servants upon Certainty, conforme to their Work, the Scribblers and Spinners conforme to the Pound, and the Weavers and Dressers, so much upon the Ell and Piece. 4. All the Undertakers were wholly unacquainted in the Affair; and lastly, they wanted the great Encouragement of the Prohibition of foreign Cloth; which clearly shews the great Difference betwixt these erected then, and now; and yet, that at *New Milnes*, before 1650, was in a thriving Condition, 'till *Dundee* was stormed; when their Cloth was taken, and the Troubles forced it to cease.

There cannot be suggested any other Objection † against Manufactories in general, or the Woollen Manufactories in particular. It remains therefore, that we give Account how great a Length we have brought the Work set up by us at *New Milnes*, and upon what rational Grounds we proceed.

19. When his *Royal Highness*, out of a Love to the Kingdom's Advantage, did consider how many Improvements this Nation could make, that were neglected; he appointed a Committee of Trade, where himself presided; in which it was enacted, that all expensive, superfluous Goods, should be discharged to be worn, and that all Goods made of Wool or Flax, which might be made

† I observe here, that among the several Objections made to the manufacturing of Woolen Cloth in *Scotland*, a Want of proper Wool for the Purpose is not mentioned, as making any Part of the natural or legal Impediments in the way of this new Undertaking there, notwithstanding that it was, at this Time, equally penal to export Wool thither, from *England* or *Ireland*, as even to *France*. (*See the Statutes.*)

in this Kingdom, as cheap as any where elſe, ſhould be diſcharged to be imported. His Royal Highneſs was not only pleaſed to endeavour and procure the making of this Law, but called ſome of us privately, and with the Force of Reaſon, and Conſideration of the publick Good, perſuaded us (although conſiderable to our private Loſs) to contribute to the upſetting of this Cloth Manufactory, which we have made our Buſineſs ſince to proſecute.

20. Whereupon, having received from Sir *James Standfield*, the generous and noble Offer of his Walk-Mills, and all his Office-Houſes, which are many, great and ſpacious; and that not only at a ſmall Rent; but which Rent is not to be paid him, but out of the free Profit ariſing from our Stocks, after the Rent of our Money is paid to us. We did, upon the 10th of *May* 1681, each ſubſcribe for the Sums we are to advance. In *July* 1681, we wrote for a Maſter to the Work, and ſix Servants only, who came here in *Auguſt* 1681. When he came, he altered the former Method of paying Servants by Dayes Wages, to a certain Price, conform to their Work; and doth, indeed, manage all to the utmoſt Advantage. We begun at firſt with two Loomes only; thereafter, in *March* 1682, eight Loomes; in *October* 1682, 14 Looms; and now we have conſtantly 25 Loomes employed, and have ordered the ſetting up 10 more. As we begun with few, and proceeded to more, ſo, having all People to inſtruct, except the Maſter and five or ſix Sheermen, we began to make the coarſeſt of white Cloths at firſt, wherein we continued to *October* 1682; and then we turned Part of our People to coarſe mix'd Cloth, and ſo gradually on to finer; and now we are upon ſuperfine Cloths, and have brought the Spinners and the reſt of the Work-People that Length, that we hope againſt *May* next, to have ſuperfine Cloths, as good as generally are made in *England*. We have entred into a mutual Contract, whereby we have bound ourſelves to ſuch Rules and Methods, as in all probability the Undertaking cannot fail, except in caſe of publick Calamity *. To give a full Account of all would be too tedious.

CHAP.

* This Undertaking, we ſhall find, did fail, but for what particular Reaſons, or at what Time, does not appear.

It

CHAP. LXXII.

Acts and Occurrences, 1685--9.

1. *AN Act for repealing certain Clauſes in an Act of Parliament made in the twenty-ninth, and thirtieth Years of the Reign of his late Majeſty, for prohibiting* French *Commodities.* 1 James II. c. 6.*

2. *A. D.*

It is ſpoke of by a *Scotch* Writer [u], as having exiſted before the Union (1707); and one might have ſuſpected that the Union itſelf, by ſuperſeding the *Scotch* Statute (§. 13. *Note.*) againſt importing Woolen Manufacture to *Scotland*, had put an End to it. But as another *Scotch* Writer (*J. Spruel* [w]) in the Year 1705, touching upon the ſame Subject, the Woolen Manufacture of *Scotland*, does not mention this of *New Mills*, I therefore conclude it had been demoliſhed ſome time before, and, not improbably, at the Revolution (1688.) For as this particular Manufactury appears (§. 19.) to have been ſet up at the Inſtance of King *James*, when Duke of *York*, and High Commiſſioner for *Scotland*, ſo it is not unlikely that the Undertakers were Perſons much attached to his Intereſt; as ſuch, had followed his Fortunes, and conſequently became Bankrupts, or Perſons attainted, &c.

[u] Ch. 128. §. 13.

[w] Ch. 89. §. 14--16.

* By this Act it appears, that the above Prohibition of *French* Commodities was for the Term of three Years, from the 20th of *March* 1677-8, and to the End of the next Seſſion of Parliament, after the Expiration of the ſaid three Years. By which Means, *i. e.* for want of ſuch Seſſion of Parliament, it happened to be continued, to the Acceſſion of King *James*. When, as Mr. *Coke* expreſſes himſelf, 'That there might be a nearer Conjunction between King 'James and his dear Brother of *France*, for carrying on 'their great and important Affairs" [*of ſettling Popery and arbitrary Power in* England]; tho' the King was otherwiſe ſufficiently apprized of the Nature and Intereſts of Trade, yet did he induce the Parliament to lay open again the Commerce with *France*; by which the Nation relapſed into that Underbalance of Trade, and all the Miſeries conſequent thereupon, under which it had before laboured, and ſunk ſo much, during a great Part of the Reign of *Car.* II. But as an Intereſt of a higher Conſideration, than even that

Coke, vol. 2. p. 412.

of

2. *A. D.* 1688. This Year the *French* Monarch, by an Arret, granted, to *Noel de Varennes*, divers Immunities, to encourage him to carry on the Manufacture of *Drap de Londres* (or Cloth in Imitation of what is ſent from *London* to *Turkey*) in the Province of *Languedoc*.

3. *An Act for the better preventing the Exportation of Wool, and for encouraging the Woolen Manufactures of this Kingdom.* 1 William and Mary, c. 32 *.

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of Trade, employed the Thoughts of the People, for the remaining Part of this ſhort Reign; ſo I have not met with any thing publiſhed upon the Subject, within that Period [x].

[x] *See* Ch. 112. §. 7--11.

☞ *Britiſh* Merchant, vol. 1. p. 183.

'Before the Year 1678, the Nation was uneaſy; Rents 'fell in moſt Parts of the Kingdom, and great Complaints 'were made upon the viſible Decay of Trade, and the 'great Want of Money. On the other hand, *France* had 'her Engineers at work [y]; and if we may believe Hiſtories 'of thoſe Times, ſhe found great Advocates for her Trade, 'and for a long time corrupted otherwiſe a brave Nation. 'But at laſt it was generally confeſſed and acknowledged, 'that the *French* Trade had ruined our own; and our Le'giſlators came heartily into the Prohibition in 1678, not'withſtanding the Court, for ſome time, oppoſed it. Mur'murs and Complaints then ceaſed at once. Rents ſoon ad'vanced; and Induſtry being encouraged, new Manufa'ctures were daily ſet up.

[y] Ch. 62. §. 12. *Note.* Ch. 100. §. 13. Ch. 103. §. 6. *Note.*

Britiſh Merchant, page 186.

'But notwithſtanding our Trade had been thus happily 'retrieved in 1678, and the Advantages *England* enjoyed 'by the Prohibition were ſo viſible; yet in 1685, a new 'Parliament, in Complaiſance to King *James* the Second, 'and to gratify his good Ally the *French* King, repealed 'this Prohibition. And yet ſuch were the Apprehenſions 'and Convictions which that Houſe of Commons entertain'ed of the pernicious Conſequences thereof, that about the 'ſame Time, they appointed a Committee to conſider of 'the Means to *keep up the Price of Wool*; and, to that 'End, reſolved that all Perſons ſhould wear the Woolen 'Manufactures, ſix Months in the Year. But the *French* '(ever vigilant to improve the Opportunities we gave them) 'immediately ſtocked us with their Manufactures and Pro'ducts; and, in three Years time, imported upon us, to 'the Value of four Millions, beſides what they brought in 'clandeſtinely, which amounted to an incredible Sum.'

* Reciting, 'That former Laws in this Caſe had not 'been duly obſerved; but that great Quantities of Wool

'had

CHAP. LXXIII.

Reaſons humbly offered by the Governour, Aſſiſtants, and Fellowſhip of Eaſtland Merchants, *againſt the giving a general Liberty to all Perſons whatſoever, to export the* Engliſh *Woolen Manufacture whither they pleaſe.* 1689 *.

1. THAT they are under a Miſapprehenſion, who do aſſert, that a general Liberty to all Perſons, to export our *Woolen Manufacture* where they pleaſe, will conduce much to the Intereſt of the Nation, under a Sup-

' had been exported, through Neglect of Officers, and by ' means of ſome doubtful Expreſſions in the Statute of ' 12 *Car.* II. on this Head: It ordains, That Wool carried ' to the Sea Coaſt, to be ſhipped to ſome other Part of the ' Kingdom, ſhall be duly entered, regiſtered, and cocket- ' ed; That no Wool ſhall be ſhipped from *Ireland*, but at ' certain Ports there, for certain Ports in *England*: Com- *Wool Ports* ' miſſioners are appointed to execute the Act, they or any *appointed.* ' five of them. Which Act to continue for three Years, ' and from thence to the End of the next Seſſion of Parlia- ' ment.

' And for the better Encouragement of the Woolen Ma- *Any Per-* ' nufacture, *and the Growth of Wool*, any Perſon or Per- *ſon may* ' ſons may buy and export Woolen Manufacture into any *buy and* ' foreign Parts whatſoever; ſaving to the *Levant Company*, *export* ' the *Eaſtland Company*, to the *Ruſſian* and the *African* *Woolen* ' *Companies*, their Charters and Grants: with a Proviſo, for *Manufa-* ' exporting, from *Southampton only*, for the only Uſe and *ture.* ' Behoof of the following Iſlands, and of the Woolen Ma- ' nufactures there, *viz.* 1000 Tods of uncombed Wool for ' *Guernſey*, 2000 Tods for *Jerſey*, 200 Tods for *Alderney*, ' 100 Tods for *Sarke*, more than by the Act of 12 *Car.* II. ' c. 32. is provided.'

* This Tract appears to have been wrote while the laſt foregoing [z] Act was depending; as it bears the Name, and conveys the Senſe and Arguments, of a conſiderable trading Company, it is, for that Reaſon, the more to be regarded. [z] Ch. 72. §. 3.

a Suppoſition, that it will increaſe the Vent thereof; we humbly apprehend will be clearly evident, upon theſe following Conſiderations; which (as in Duty bound) we ſubmit to the Judgment of our Superiors.

2. *Firſt*, We affirm, that a general Permiſſion of Exportation will be a Means to debaſe the Reputation of our *Engliſh* Manufactures, and conſequently render them leſs deſirable abroad.

Page 4. 3. *Secondly*, It will overthrow all the incorporated Companies of all the Merchants in *England*; the Miſchiefs whereof will be as follows; 1. The Trade of *England* will thereby be loſt, as to the *Engliſh*, and come to be all, or the greateſt Part, in the Hands of Foreigners, as before the Erection of the ſaid Companies [z]; 2. All Privileges obtained by the ſaid Companies from foreign Princes and States will be entirely loſt. 3. The Navigation of *England*, by Degrees, will be impaired. Laſtly, So far from anſwering the End propoſed, of vending a greater Quantity of Woolen Manufacture, it will be the Occaſion of vending a great deal leſs. The proving of which ſeveral Particulars, we ſhall undertake in Order *.

[z] *See* Chap. 75. §. 2, 3.

Page 14. 4. And if it now be objected to us, that after all our Endeavours to prove that a general Permiſſion will not increaſe the Vent of our *Manufacture*, we have in the mean time no where affirmed what will; we muſt declare, that at preſent, we know but one of theſe two Means; *either to put a Stop to its making in other Parts*; OR, *to make it ſo cheap here, that we may be able to underſell our Neighbours*. The *firſt* of which we know to be IMPOSSIBLE; the *latter*, we have Reaſon to believe, might give Offence to the SELLERS of its MATERIALS †; though it is ſufficiently evident to any common

[a] Ch. 25. [b] Ch. 32, 34. [c] Ch. 36. §. 5. *Note*. §. 7. *Note*. Chap. 43. [d] Ch. 72. §. 3. *Note*.

* Here follows an hiſtorical Detail of what we have had before, from *Wheeler* [a], *Miſſelden* [b]; and in the Anſwers of the Fellowſhip of *Merchant Adventurers* [c] to the *Interlopers*, *ann.* 1662.

† Hence may be inferred, that the Price of Wool was at this Time, more than the Merchants and Manufacturers thought well of. That this, in *England*, was not owing to the Non-Exportation of Wool, the laſt foregoing Act [d] does ſufficiently witneſs; on the contrary, it ſays, 'that great

' Quanti-

mon Underſtanding, that the CHEAPNESS of the MATERIALS is the moſt proper Means of increaſing the Vent of the MANUFACTURE †.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Acts and Occurrences, 1689-91.

1. AN * *Act for prohibiting all Trade and Commerce with* France. 1. W. M. c. 34. ‖ ‡

2. Though

' Quantities of Wool had been exported ;' but neither was this the ſole Reaſon of the advanced Price of Wool in *England* at this Time; the Market of *Europe* ran high for Wool at this Period. (See the Commerce of *Marſeilles* in 1688. By *Sieur Gaſpar Carfeuil* [e].)

[e] Ch. 154. §. 2.

† So that this Tract concludes with a Couple of ANECDOTES, which the Generality of Writers on this Head have been ſomewhat careful to conceal from the GENTLEMEN of ENGLAND, namely, 1. THAT THE MAKING of CLOTH, *and all Sorts of* DRAPERY, *in other Parts,* IS NOT TO BE PREVENTED. 2. *That, to have* ENGLISH WOOL CHEAP, *is the beſt Means of promoting the* WOOLEN TRADE *of* ENGLAND. Theſe coming from a great *Trading Company*; and the laſt of them being a Policy which ſome others have appeared to favour, and which accordingly has been ſtrictly purſued, although in an oblique Manner, and under falſe Colours, it deſerves eſpecial Notice; I ſhall take Occaſion, before I conclude, to examine the Argument thoroughly [f]. [f] Ch. 177, 178.

* Reciting, ' that War was now declared againſt *France*, ' that the Importation of *French* Commodities hath much ' exhauſted the Treaſure of the Nation, and leſſened great- ' ly the Value of the Native Commodities and Manufactures ' thereof, and therefore prohibiting ſuch Importation as a ' Nnſance.'

‖ Upon the Reſolution of a War with *France*, ' The ' King publiſhed a *Proclamation for the encouraging* French ' Proteſtants *to tranſport themſelves into the Kingdom*,' which was both a Chriſtian and a Politic Act, as it delivered ſeveral from Perſecution, and at the ſame Time, derived the Benefit of many gainful Arts and Manufactures upon this Kingdom. *Continuation of* Rapin, *p.* 89.

‡ A Bill

Coke, vol. 2. p. 480.

2. Though *England* embraced their Deliverance by King *William*, *Ireland* did not; for why ſhould the *Iriſh* join with the *Engliſh*, who would have no Trade with them, againſt the *French*, upon whom the *Iriſh* depended by their Trade and Commerce *.

3. *An*

Page 98.

‡ A Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, ‘ *for the* ‘ *enjoining the wearing of the Woolen Manufactures of this* ‘ *Kingdom at certain Times of the Year.*’ Upon which the ‘ Silk Weavers of *London* and *Canterbury*, preſented a Petition to their Lordſhips in a tumultuous Manner, praying ‘ to be heard before the ſaid Bill ſhould be paſſed into a ‘ Law.’ Whereupon the Houſe ordered their Speaker to tell the Petitioners, ‘ *That the Lords did not then think fit* ‘ *to give an Anſwer, becauſe they obſerved there was an un-* ‘ *uſual Manner of Application, and that the* Bailiffs, Wardens, *and* Aſſiſtants *of the* Company, *ſhould have directed* ‘ *their Members better: That the Lords did firſt require, that* ‘ *theſe Crouds ſhould go home; and when that was done,* ‘ *neither they, nor other People of this Nation, needed to* ‘ *doubt, but that their* Lordſhips *would do Juſtice, and* ‘ *hear the Objections of Parties concerned in this, or any* ‘ *other Bill that ſhould come before them.*’ Upon this, due Care being taken to prevent the Return of ſuch unruly Multitudes, the Bill was unanimouſly rejected by the Lords [f].

[f] Ch. 68. §. 1. *Note.*

Coke, vol. 2. p. 480.

* Mr. *Coke* obſerves, upon the *Iriſh Act*, which is what he here points to, That ‘ *Ireland* is a Kingdom depending upon *England*; and Trade and Commerce create a mutual Correſpondence and Intereſt between Countries, ‘ ſo as this Law makes the Correſpondence and Intereſt of ‘ *Ireland* to depend upon other Countries; whereas it is ‘ the Intereſt of *England* to have been the Mart or Store-‘ Houſe of all the Wools, Hides, and Tallow, *&c.* renewed in *Ireland*, as *England* is the Store Houſe of the ‘ Product of the Plantations, or as *Holland* is of the Spice ‘ Trade. I may ſafely ſay, this Law has leſſened the Value ‘ of Lands in the Eaſtern and Southern Parts of this Kingdom 30 *per Cent.*’ He adds to what he has ſaid above, ‘ That though the *French* aſſiſted the *Iriſh* above three Years ‘ in their Wars againſt the *Engliſh*; yet it may be a Queſtion, whether the *French* did not gain more by their ‘ Trade with *Ireland* for Wools [g], Tallow, raw Hides and ‘ Proviſions for their Fleet, than their Expence for carrying ‘ on the War againſt the *Engliſh* did amount to.’

[g] Ch. 76. §. 2.

☞ *This at leaſt, with the Havock and Spoil committed during three Years of War in* Ireland *(which muſt have had much*

the

3. *An Act for the Encouragement of the breeding and feeding of Cattle* *. 3, 4 W. & M. c. 8.

4. *An Act for continuing the Acts for prohibiting all Trade and Commerce with* France. 4, 5 W. & M. c. 25. †

CHAP. LXXV.

The Linen and Woolen Manufactory diſcourſed, with the Nature of Companies and Trade in general, and particularly that of the Companies for the Linen Manufactory of England *and* Ireland; *with ſome Reflections how the Trade of* Ireland *hath formerly, and may now affect* England.

Printed at the Requeſt of a Peer of this Realm.

London, 1691.

SIR,

1. YOU have here my Opinion of Companies in Trade, by Authority of the great Seal in general. 2. Of the preſent Company in *England* for the Linen

the ſame Effect, with the like Cauſe, in the Time of King Charles *and the Uſurpation) may be eſteemed as the principal, though not the ſole Reaſons of the high Price of Wool and Cattle in the Beginning of King* William's *Reign*; alſo what follows, (§. 3.)

* By which Beef, Pork, Butter, Cheeſe, might be exported Cuſtom free. (See Ch. 36. §. 4. *Note.*)

† This Act recites the Continuance of the War, as the Reaſon of diſcontinuing ſtill longer all Trade, &c. with *France*; which Prohibition was therefore re-enacted for three Years, in caſe the War ſhould ſo long continue; and it enacts further, that if a private Man of War take a Ship or other Veſſel laden with Wool to be tranſported, a Moiety of ſuch Ship and Lading ſhall be to the Uſe of the Captor.

Linen Manufactory. 3. Of that for the ſame in *Ireland*.

2. I begin with that of Companies in general. Theſe I take to have been very common in the early Days of Trade, when Navigation was judged a Myſtery, equal to that of the black Art. But as Trade and Commerce became familiar in the World, the Wiſdom of Government made the Privileges of Trade univerſal to their Subjects; and ſo, by Degrees, Companies were abated.

3. By this you will believe me no Friend to Companies; and I muſt confeſs my Judgment and Experience, as far as it reaches, is againſt them; but ſtill with a Reſerve to ſuch, as by a long Deſcent from their Predeceſſors, that purchaſed it by ſignal Service to the Nation, have in a Manner a Freehold, as that of the *Turkey*, *Hamborough*, and ſome others in Being.

4. Were it poſſible to introduce it in this Kingdom, yet it would not be for the Intereſt of the Nation, to have a *Linen Manufactory* ſet up as a Trade in the Kingdom.

5. Divine Providence, that appoints to every Nation and Country a particular Portion, ſeems to allot that to *England*, which was the firſt acceptable Sacrifice to his Omnipotency, that of the Flock; the Produce of which is the moſt univerſal Covering of all the civilized Countries of the World. Our Woolen Manufacture, a Talent which no Nation hath to that Perfection as we have, hath been for many Ages the Support of the Nation, employing the Poor at home, our Men and Ships at Sea. Now to decline this, and ſet up another Manufacture, looks like an extravagant Mechanick, who by his Improvidence hath loſt his own Art, and thinks to retrieve his Misfortune by taking up that of another Man's. This is condemned in particular Perſons, and to be feared in a Community.

6. But it will be ſaid, there is not Employment for the Hands of the Nation in the Woolen Manufactory; and ſince Linen carries away ſo much of our Money, it ſeems the Intereſt of the Nation to employ idle Hands in that which will keep Money in the Kingdom. Now though both theſe Aſſertions have too much Truth in them, yet neither of them have Weight enough to enforce the Concluſion, *that the Linen Manufactory is the only Remedy.* 7. It

7. It is not becauſe there is leſs Woolen Manufacture uſed in the World than formerly, that our Trade declines, nor yet becauſe we make more than formerly; for it is demonſtrable, that from the Year 1673, to the Year 1680, there was * much more Wool wrought up in *England* than in eleven Years ſince. Nor is it altogether to be aſſigned to the preſent War; for that our Trade decayed in the latter † Part of King *Charles* II, and all the Reign of the late King.

8. The Reaſons then of the Decay of the Woolen Trade ſeem to be theſe. 1. The Growth of the coarſe Woolen Manufactory in *Germany*, with which the *Venetians* trade to *Turky*. 2. The Prohibition of our Woolen Manufacture in *France*. 3. The Increaſe of the Woolen Manufacture by our Neighbours with the Help of our Wool, ſo that in ſome Things they do outſell us in the Price they can ſell at. 4. By the great Wear of *Eaſt-India*, and other, Silks, and the Uſe of Callicoes, which was formerly ſupplied by our Tammies and Says. 5. The Want of the Conſumption of *Ireland*, which abated all the Reign of the late King. There is yet a Cauſe as valid as any of the former, which, for ſome Reaſons, I forbear to mention.

9. Now to me it ſeems poſſible to counterpoiſe all theſe, and to retrieve our Manufactory, and that by two Ways. 1. By preventing the tranſporting of Wool, which if done, the *French* and others that now furniſh Markets abroad, would not be able [g] to ſupply their own Expence. It may be thought a vain Aſſertion, after all Attempts that have been made to prevent the Exportation of our Wool, to ſay, there is yet a Way that may effectually do it. Yet I am morally ſure it may be done, both in *England* and *Ireland*; and if this were done, there is another Thing that might oblige the *French*, when there is a Peace, to take off their Prohibitions on

[g] Ch. 105. §. 12--14.

* This Writer had done well to have ſupported his Aſſertion by ſome kind of Proof.

† As to the latter Part of King *Charles* II. *viz.* from 1680, he ſeems to be altogether a Stranger to what Sir *Joſiah Child* had averred [h], and which the *Britiſh Merchant* pretty well confirms. (*See* Chap. 70. §. 12. *Note.*)

[h] Ch. 70. §. 12.

our Manufactory. 2. The other Way to bring our Woolen Manufactories into Esteem abroad, is, to make them so cheap as to undersell the *German* coarse Manufactories; and that may be done with Ease; which I can make out upon Occasion *. These two Things, if practicable, as I persuade myself they are, will set the Woolen Manufactory on so good a Foot, as together with a Consumption not yet practised in *England*, will find Employment for the meanest Hand in *England*. So that there will be rather Want than Superfluity of Hands in the Woolen Manufactory.

10. Now if there be any thing in all I have said, it seems reasonable to consider well, before the Nation gives up the Staple and long continued Trade for a Shadow, as I take the Linen Manufactory to be; for although I believe it can never come to Effect, yet so far it may go, as to injure that of the Woolen, by diverting some that are now in it, and so raise the Price of *Spinning*, than which Nothing can be more prejudicial; for as I mentioned before, nothing can retrieve our lost Trade abroad, but underselling our Competitors: So then we must labour to make ours as cheap as we can, and not set up another Manufactory, to bid who gives most for Spinners; a ready Way to ruin the clothing Trade of *England*, but not to set up the Linen, which whenever it thrives, must have a better Way than the Methods the Company takes.

11. For the Company of the Linen Manufactory in *Ireland*; I have the same Value, as for this of *England*, but for different Causes. 1. Though it must be allowed, that *Ireland* is the aptest Part of the World for a Linen Manufactory, yet a Company seems the readiest Way to blast it now in the Beginning. There are already some Undertakers this Way there, intending to settle themselves where they may find most Spinners, and to spend their Time in riding the Country to encourage them, and buy up the Linen Yarn. These have their Correspondents in *England*, who for their Linen, return Tobacco

Continuation of Rapin, *p.* 192.

* 'About this Time, several Affairs amused the House 'of Commons to little purpose. *A Bill for the better Im-* 'provement of the Woolen Manufacture of this Kingdom, 'was thrown out before a second reading.'

bacco, (which they muſt have only from *England*) Hops and *Engliſh* Manufactories. This is a growing Trade that *England* may gain by, to which the Broad Seal will be an invincible Enemy. The Company will tell you the contrary. But they are the firſt Men I ever heard of, that were at the Charge of a Patent, only to tell us they intended to do no body wrong.

12. Not only the Time is moſt improper for ſetting up a Linen Manufactory in *Ireland*; but the Methods and Conſtitutions of Companies in *Ireland* are deſtructive to both Kingdoms. They are a Bar to the peopling that Kingdom with foreign Proteſtants; and *Ireland* can never be ſafe, whilſt the *Iriſh* ſo over-balance the *Engliſh*.

13. *Ireland*, conſidered as a foreign Plantation to *England*, by an Account I have ſeen, exceeds all the *Weſt-India* Plantations in its Conſumption of the Product of *England*, as Corn, Hops, Salt, &c. But what hinders the Increaſe of People there, will hinder that Conſumption. Then for their Produce, in that we uſe them as foreign Plantations, preſcribing them Rules and Methods, and Prohibitions in ſome of their Commodities, as Wool, Linen, Yarn, &c. which we oblige them to ſend no where but to *England*; and if they be kept to it, as I am ſure they may, *England* would find it wants, not abounds in Wool; for the ſeeming Exceſs of Wool in *England*, is not becauſe we have too much from *Ireland*, but becauſe we have not all; *for one Pound of their Wool works up ten of foreign* *; and that enables them in

* So then, *Iriſh Wool* has all the Virtues of *Lord* Peter's *brown Loaf*. But was it in any degree true, what is here ſaid, and 'that our ſeeming Exceſs of Wool in *England*, 'at any Time, is not becauſe we have *too much* from *Ire-* 'land, but becauſe we have not *all*:' In that Caſe, tho', according to Sir *Joſiah Child*'s wiſe Obſervation, it would Ch. 48. be vain to expect either *all*, or *any conſiderable Part* of the §. 3. *Iriſh* Wool; yet would it follow, that the more of it *Engl and* ſhould obtain at any Time, the leſs, for that Time, would be the ſeeming Exceſs of Wool in *England*, *i. e.* Wool, in *England*, would be actually ſo much dearer, by how much more of that Commodity was imported from *Ireland*. But Experience, the ſureſt Teſt in this Caſe, tells us juſt the contrary, as often as there has been any Opportunity

their Manufactories abroad to furniſh the Trade we formerly had to ourſelves.

14. We never ſee Companies ſet up in our foreign Plantations; every Man is Maſter of his own Invention, Labour, and Deſigns; ſo it ſeems the Intereſt of *England*, as well as *Ireland*, to have the like Freedom there, in Order to the better peopling of that Kingdom. For if the Generality of Men ſee not the hidden Myſteries and Influences Companies have in Trade; yet Merchants and Handicrafts do. Beſides, a particular Company for a Linen Manufactory in *Ireland*, will prejudice the Manufactories of Fuſtian, Tapes, and *Mancheſter* Ware; much of which are made by the Linen Yarn of *Ireland* †.

CHAP.

tunity for making the Obſervation. The Stock of *Ireland*, for Inſtance, had been greatly waſted [k] by the Rebellion there in *Charles* the Iſt, and the Wars during the Uſurpation. When, we have ſeen [l], Wool roſe to a very high Price in *England*; of which that muſt be accounted of as one Cauſe. The ſame may be obſerved of this Period (1691.) The War of three Years had occaſioned great Spoil of the Herds and Flocks in *Ireland*, and furniſhed the *French* with uncommon Opportunities of carrying off the Wool [m] of that Kingdom, which were Reaſons, among others, why Wool was now, and for ſome time after (as we ſhall ſee) dear in *England*.

[k] *See* Chap. 52. §. 1.
[l] Ch. 56. §. 12.
Chap. 58. §. 10.
[m] Ch. 74. §. 2. *Note.* Chap. 76. §. 2.

Again, we ſhall find (Chap. 171.) after the Year 1720, when by reaſon of the Plague in *France*, *Iriſh* Wool found little or no Vent there, tho' the Trade of *England* received ſome Increaſe from that Incident; yet ſuch was the extraordinary Influx of *Iriſh* Wool [n] to *England*, at that Time; and the Exportation of *Engliſh* Wool was to ſuch a degree ſtopped, that the Price thereof (far from being advanced by that temporary Spring of Trade) was, in Fact, abated, and the Foundation laid of its being reduced, ſoon after, to the loweſt Ebb that had been known, from before the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, lower than even in the worſt Times of *Charles* the Second.

[n] *See* Ch. 126. *P. S.*

† ‘ (*A. D.* 1692,) the * Province of *Languedoc* in *France* ‘ was obliged, by an Arret of *October* 2. this Year, to furniſh the *Sieur Magi* and his Partners with 30,000 Livres ‘ to carry on the ſame Manufacture, as *Noel de Varennes* had ‘ ſet up ſome few Years before [o], of *Drap de Londres*, at ‘ *Clermont*

Britiſh Merchant, vol. 2. p. 94.
[o] Ch. 72. §. 2.

CHAP. LXXVI.

An Abſtract of the Grievances of Trade which oppreſs our Poor, humbly offered to Parliament. London, *Printed* 1694.

1. I Need no farther Proof of our Calamity and Decay of Trade †, than the Poor Rates ° in all Places of

° *See* our vol. 1. p. 262. *Note.*

'*Clermont* and *Sette*; and they having voluntarily engaged 'themſelves to tranſport 2000 Pieces of that Cloth to the '*Levant*, they are permitted to carry the Goods they im-'port from thence at *Marſelia*, by Tranſires from *Lyons* in-'to all Parts of that Kingdom, (that is, without paying 'the Duties of particular Provinces); nevertheleſs, upon 'this expreſs Condition, that they export annually 2000 '*Draps de Londres*.'

* 'The *French* had this Year (1692) a very bad Har-'veſt, and no Vintage in the Northern Parts. *England* 'had likewiſe great Apprehenſions from a very cold and 'wet Summer; Deluges of Rain continuing to the very 'Time of Harveſt. But when the Nation was threatened 'with a Famine, the Seaſon changed in ſo extraordinary a 'manner, as to produce a very plentiful Harveſt.

Continuation of Rapin, p. 217.

All Perſons of Obſervation and Experience will conclude, that the Seaſon here deſcribed, muſt have occaſioned a great Rot of Sheep in England; which further accounts for the high Price of Wool at this Period.

About this Time ſeveral *French Refugees*, in Conjunction with ſome *Engliſh Merchants*, termed *The Royal Lute-ſtring Company*, obtained the King's Patent for the ſole Privilege of making *Lute-ſtrings* and *Alamodes* in *England*; *which was a new Manufacture acquired.*

Page 219.

† Complaints, in general Terms, of the bad State of Trade, or even (which is more rare) Boaſtings, occaſionally, of a good one, are ſo uncertainly iſſued, juſt as it ſuits the Views and Inclinations of particular Perſons or Parties, that, without ſome proper Vouchers, ſuch as the *Cuſtom-Houſe-Accounts*, or other Teſtimony of a like Nature, they are not to be depended upon for Truths. Neither are the Poor Rates, tho' often appealed to, any certain Rule to judge by. As Towns increaſe their Trade, ſo will their Number

our Woolen Manufacture in *England*. And to excuſe † the preſent Juncture of Affairs, refer to the Preſſures of the Farmer, fifteen or twenty Years paſt, during which Time, his Wool, Corn, Beef, Mutton, *&c.* did not yield ſo much by a third Part, as it did in former Days, although in Peace with all *Europe*. Notwithſtanding which Charge, could I here ſet forth the Hardſhips that many Weavers and Spinners have undergone theſe two laſt Years ‡, it could not but move the Pity of this great Council; ſince it evidently ſprings not ſo much from the Badneſs of Trade itſelf, as the prevailing Power of foreign and private Intereſt in the Management thereof.

2. The firſt Grievance I humbly offer to Conſideration, is the Exportation of our Wool into *France* and *Holland*; which Practice is ſo well known, that I need not ſpend Time in making any Diſcovery; whilſt of 3,000 Packs of long Wool, that grows annually in *Romney Marſh*, it is credibly believed, that 2,000 are carried into *France*. Neither can I think it needful to ſet forth the Loſs, when with one Pack of ours they work up two of their own, and ſo rival us at foreign Markets. How to prevent this great Miſchief, is the proper Subject of this Council; which being effectually done, would more affect *France* than a Million of Money

Number of Poor, and conſequently their Pariſh Rates, increaſe P. Moreover, ſuch is the Manner of Life (from Hand to Mouth) and the particular Improvidence, of labouring Manufacturers and Mechanics, beyond thoſe in plain ſimple Huſbandry, that as often as there happens either an epidemical Sickneſs, or a Scarcity and Dearth of Proviſions, or a rigorous Seaſon, to put a Stop to their Work and their Wages, ſo often, be the general State of Trade and Manufacture never ſo good, will there be great Occaſion of Complaint among that Claſs of People; and Numbers of them will become the Objects of Relief.

P *See* Chap. 56. §. 25. *Note.*

† What this Writer meant to excuſe, was, I preſume, the high Price of Corn, Cattle, and Wool at this Period, which was, in his Opinion, but a reaſonable Amends to the Landed Intereſt for what had been endured in the bad Times of *Charles* II.

‡ Corn and other Proviſions had been very dear from the Year 1692.

ney expended in the beſt Method that could be contrived, and likewiſe enable us to pay a Million more to carry on the War, and have the ſame good Effect, as in the Days of *Edward* III. [q], to bring back a Multitude of our Manufactures that we have loſt. We have Wool enough growing in *England*, with the Help of *Spaniſh*, to employ more Poor than we have; and was our Trade but duly encouraged, our Work People would be ſought after. And it's remarkable, that whilſt we give Money freely, upon one hand, to carry on the War againſt *France* with Vigour, we ſhould ſupport them, upon the other, with our Wool, which hath been no ſmall Kindneſs. When the *French* parted with *Ireland*, they carried off a great Quantity of Wool [r] and Yarn; which put them upon a Manufacture for *Turkey*. They have ſince been ſupplied with great Quantities of Wool from us; the *Streights* hath been open to them; and to help them to a good Market, our *Turkey* Merchants bound up their own Hands from ſending; which hath impoveriſhed our Poor.

[q] Ch. 58. §. 6. *Note.*

[r] Ch. 74. §. 2, *Note.*

3. The next Grievance is, the Loſs of the Reputation of our Woolen Manufactures abroad, by our ſlight making and overſtraining them [s]; in which particular I think we are arrived at Perfection. This hath evidently prevailed upon us, as the foreign Merchants of *Holland*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, &c. have made themſelves Principals in our Markets. Theſe Factors being obliged to buy ſuch Price-Goods as their Principals abroad direct; the Makers obſerving no Rule, as Prices were beat down, have ſtill made the Commodity worſe. The foreign Merchants, eſpecially the *Dutch*, having a nearer Intereſt of their own in the Woolen Manufactures, have always been a beating down the Prices of ours, without due Reſpect to the Goodneſs, knowing well enough, that it was the intrinſick Goodneſs of our Cloth in former Days, that always kept a Check upon them. Our late Government hath likewiſe been ſo kind to forward this Practice ever ſince 25 *Charles* II. [t], by taking off Aliens Duties from all our Woolen Manufactures, and putting the foreign Merchant upon an equal Foot with the *Engliſh*; it hath prevailed ſo far, that nine Parts in ten of our Woolen Manufactures that are vended in *Holland*, *Flanders*, and great part of *Germany*, are carried

[s] Ch. 48. §. 11.

[t] Cap. 6.

over upon the foreign Merchants Accounts. as likewiſe in their Bottoms *. It is impoſſible to prevent this Loſs to the Nation, *without incorporating our Woolen Manufacture in* Engliſh *Hands to be exported.*

4. To this debaſing of our Woolen Manufactures, being added in the next Place, the unneceſſary Charge of ten † *per Cent.* we need not wonder at our Want of Conſumption abroad, or Complaint in our Streets at home, which is fully compleated by the Profits of the Wool Jobber, Salary of the Factor, and his Profit out of the Wool, the attendant Charges of new preſſing, *&c.* Theſe are ſorry Bulwarks in Trade, to cope with the frugal induſtrious Contrivance, and exact Making of the *Dutch* in all their Woolen Manufacture, and the cheap Workmanſhip of *France*, whilſt both are manufacturing of our own Wool.

5. This dead Weight upon the Maſter Wheel of our Trade hath been fixed by the Loſs of the publick Market of *Blackwel-Hall* in *London*. Where, in former Days [u], the Clothier met the *Engliſh* Merchant, that was a FREEMAN, who was thereby ALONE empowered to buy in this Market, who ſold him his Cloth, afterwards received his Money, and bought his Wool of the Grower, which was a ſtraight Current of Trade, which now by the Power of private Intereſt, is drawn into a Meander, and its Courſe ſo much retarded through the great City, that the Country is ſtarved.

[u] Ch. 63. Chap. 78. §. 1. *Note.* Ch. 138. §. 13--21.

6. This Alteration of the Sale of Cloth, from the publick Market, into private Houſes, and the Management by Factors and Packers, hath introduced a Swarm of Inconveniences; as long Credit, with a farther Profit to

* Our Author miſtakes his Statute: By 25 *Car.* II. c. 6. Aliens Duties were taken off from all native Commodities of the Kingdom, *except Coals*, or *Manufactures wrought within the Kingdom*. By 25 *Car.* II. c. 7. a general Liberty was given of trading to *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*. And by the ſame Statute, any Perſon might be free of the *Eaſtland Company*, on Payment of 40*s*. But by 1 *W.* & *M.* cap. 32. any Perſon might buy and export Woolen Manufacture into any foreign Parts whatſoever; ſaving (as ſee Chap. 72. §. 3. *Note.*)

† See §. 8. *Note.*

to the Factor by furniſhing the Maker with Wool; lower Wages ill paid; by which the Poor are driven to deal with Badgers for Wheat and other Neceſſaries; which Badgers are alſo Sellers of Brandy and hot Liquors.

7. This long Credit * hath drawn over abundance of foreign Factors from *Holland*, the *Hanſe Towns* of *Germany*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Sweden*, &c. which are readily courted by their Brethren their Factors in *London*.

8. How far our Nation is concerned in throwing open all the Myſteries of our Trade to any Part of the World, and in letting in *Perſians* and *Grecians* to be acquainted with the Prices of our Goods in a low Time of Trade, I am not of Ability to determine, but cannot but take Notice of the Occaſion † of their coming over, and how that Part of our Trade falls under Conſideration in my preſent Subject of Credit.

9. I wiſh

* Or rather the Stat. of 1 *W.* & *M.* c. 32. (See Ch. 72. §. 3. *Note.*) Whereby, 'for the better Encouragement of 'the Woolen Manufacture, any Perſon or Perſons may buy 'and export the ſame, &c.'

† 'Our Honourable *Eaſt-India Company*, ſome Years 'ſince, falling into a little Eclipſe in their Credit, where-'by Money grew ſcarce with them, and their Manufactures 'of *Indian* Silks, Muſlins, and Callicoes, which were wholly 'carried on with Silver, being their only Profit, wholly 'neglects the ſending over any of our Woolen Manufactures, 'for three or four Years, to ſome Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies* 'that they formerly ſerved; upon which (a Famine for 'Cloth growing in thoſe Parts) ſeveral *Perſians* and *Gre-'cians* muſtered up their Forces, like *Jacob*'s Sons, and 'undertook a hazardous Journey into a ſtrange Land, 'where they heard was Plenty, for the Good of them-'ſelves and Countrymen; their fair Enterprize ſucceeded 'well in their Journey, but not without Difficulty (accord-'ing to the Parallel) when they attained the Land; for 'now they found themſelves within the Charter of the '*Eaſt-India* Company; and although they ſaw great Plenty 'of the Goods their Country wanted, yet their Hands were 'ſtill bound up from procuring it for them; but this Dif-'ficulty was accommodated by the Payment of w *ten per* w §. 4. '*Cent.* to the Company, or more, for what Goods they 'bought; upon which they were permitted to go freely 'into our Packers Houſes, and were courted with as good

'and

9. I wiſh we are not convinced of our Negligence in the great Affairs of the Trade of the Nation, when it is

'and cheap Pennyworths as *England* afforded; and paid for 'their Cloth before they exported it.

'Upon great Complaint, as well upon this Account as 'ſeveral others, againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company, to the 'Government, they were obliged to ſhip off annually, one 'hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds worth of our Woolen 'Manufactures, for the Advantage of the Country, which 'readily they agreed to; but by the Sharpneſs of their 'Wits, they turned this Obligation into a Support of their 'Darling Profit; which I think is the Maſter-piece of their 'Contrivance, and it was effected by this Means.

'The *Perſians* and *Grecians* were now to return to their 'own Country, all, except *Callander*, who was their chief-'eſt Judgment in the Woolen Manufacture; who was to be 'left behind to inſpect their Pennyworths, and ſee their 'Goods ſhipped off according to their Agreement: And to 'ſave their Trouble and Hazard in remitting their Money 'for *England*, it ſhould be paid into their Factory in the '*Eaſt-Indies*.

'This Affair being ſo well accommodated, the Company 'now gives out, that they reſolve to devote themſelves to 'the good of the Nation, and to buy all the Cloth that 'was made in their Way; and in the firſt Place, to carry 'on their Deſign, they eſpouſed the Intereſt of three or 'four conſiderable Packers, that had the Command of the 'Sale of great Quantities of Cloth, but were privately 'Members of their own Company; theſe now outvie one 'another in their Bills of Parcels of Cloth, where they 'drew many Clothiers into the ſame Bargain, as one and the 'ſame; and, as Money was paid without Diſtinction, they 'divided it, and Multitudes of Samples were ſent into the '*Eaſt-India* Houſe. Some Scruples were made at firſt, by 'their Propoſals of a little Accommodation in Payment on 'the Score of ſome Ships that they daily expected; which 'Difficulty was ſoon got over by the firſt Examples. A 'conſiderable Quantity of Cloth was bought. *Callander* 'inſpected the Pennyworths, and the Cloth was ſhipped 'off.

'Upon Pretence of Diſappointment, Payments are now 'ſtopped, and Bonds given, with lawful Intereſt, to the 'Clothiers for ſix Months; that Time expires, and no Pay-'ment, and now going on for the other ſix Months. And 'thus they have fixed a Debt of almoſt 100,000 *l.* upon the 'Country, and no Poſſibility of paying it off, until their

'Goods

is too late. I am well aſſured, had there been due Care taken to prevent the Exportation of our Wool, at the Beginning of our Wars, and to encourage Trade in all its Particulars, as in Prudence we ought, and might have done; had we laid but two Shillings in the Pound equally upon Land, and raiſed the reſt that our Occaſions required, by an *Exciſe*, our labouring People which would have paid the greateſt Share, had lived much better than now they have done, and the reſt of our Expence had been ſaved.

In a long Combat, we ought to be tender of loading our Sword Hand; and this I am ſure, that whilſt by Annuities, Lotteries, and Banks, we have fixed great Part of our trading Stocks in a Mortgage upon the Nation, not again to be commanded, *thereby to prevent an Exciſe*, we have tied up our own Hands in Trade, and fixed it to a very dangerous Degree in the Hands of the *Dutch*, and other Nations, who have as effectually exciſed the labouring Part of our Nation, as if they lived under their own Government; and will every Year do it more and more.

10. Another Precipice that ſeems to threaten the Ruin of our Trade, is the Low Ebb of our Coin in Quantity and Quality *.

11. Another

'Goods return from their Factory, that this Money purchaſed; ſo that inſtead of relieving the Country, they 'have made the Country relieve them; which is a great 'Hardſhip upon the Country at this Juncture. Doubtleſs, 'when the Obligation was laid by the Government for the 'buying of ſo much of our Woolen Manufactures, it was 'likewiſe intended, there ſhould be *quid pro quo*; and 'whatſoever Damages doth come from hence to the 'Country, muſt be owing to the Unkindneſs of our own 'Members; for had our Bill paſt to preſerve the publick 'Market of *Blackwel-Hall*, the *Eaſt-India* Company muſt 'as well have paid for this Cloth, as their Bills of 150,000 *l.* 'drawn upon them from *Cadiz* at the ſame Time. He had 'need of a *Roman* Faith, that will give Credit with Goods 'upon a common Seal.'

* There was too much Reaſon for Complaint on this Head. As to the Quantity of Coin at this Time in the Nation, it was thus computed.

'The

11. Another Grievance in Trade, that hath very much impoveriſhed our Poor, hath been the private Intereſt of Companies of Merchants, in making Stops in Trade, to advance the Prices of their Goods at Home and Abroad, thereby to get thoſe they buy cheaper. This hath enriched a few, and impoveriſhed Multitudes *.

12. Another Oppreſſion upon our Poor, hath been the ſending out our Woolen Manufactures, without being fully manufactured. This hath very much affected our Dyers, *&c.* and hath been chiefly occaſioned by the high

Contin. of Rapin, p. 305--6.

'The Silver Sterling coined in *England*, from *Eliz.* to *Car.* I. inclusive, was	£ 15,109,476	13	05 ¾
About two Thirds whereof being ſunk, the remaining Quantity was	5,036,492	00	00
The unmelted Coins of *Car.* II. *James* II. and K. *Will.* were	563,508	00	00
Total clipped and unclipped, hoarded and current	5,600,000	00	00
Clipped Money circulating	£ 4,000,000	00	00
Unclipped, lying in Hoards, or current in remote Countries	1,600,000	00	00

As to the Quality of this clipped Money, which was the only Silver Coin that then appeared in Commerce; the Weight of 100 *l.* Sterling (according to the Standard) ſhould have been 32 lb. 3 *oz.* 1 *pw.* 22 *gr.*

But of 572 Bags, containing each 100 *l.* Sterling by Tale, the Medium Weight of each Bag was but	16 lb.	8 *oz.*	18 *pw.* 0 *gr.*

So that there wanted very near half the original Quantity of Silver.

* How then did this Writer forget himſelf (§. 7.) or what did he mean (§. 3.) by a Law to incorporate our Woolen Manufacture in *Engliſh* Hands, to be exported?

high Duties upon Logwood, &c. imported, and the large Drawbacks thereof upon being re-exported †.

13. The laſt Grievance of Trade that I ſhall mention, is, fallen upon our Seamen. The Stat. 1 *Elizabeth.* c. 13. enacted, that whatſoever * Merchant did ſhip any Merchandize upon a foreign Bottom, ſhould pay Aliens Duties: By 25 *Charles* II. c. 6. Aliens Duties upon all our Manufactures ‖ were taken off, and hereby the *Engliſh* Merchant was loſt, as well as the *Engliſh* Seaman. This hath prevailed ſo far, that in a conſiderable Fleet that lately carried off our Woolen Manufactures to *Holland*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, convoyed by *Engliſh* Men of War, there was but two *Engliſh* Ships. And I doubt our Share in the Merchandize as light ‡.

14. When I conſider the many Stops in Trade that have been ſince our happy Revolution, and the Contrivance of thoſe within our own Bowels, to oppreſs our Poor:

† Our Author was either wholly ignorant of, or had not attended to, the Experiment made, in this reſpect, in 1616 [x], and the very bad Conſequences which thereupon enſued. Tho', as to the Buſineſs of dying Stuffs, that admits of another Conſideration.

[x] *See* Chap. 31.

* By the firſt of *Eliz.* c. 13. §. 4. it was provided, that Merchant Adventurers, and thoſe of the Staple, in their ſeveral Fleets and Shippings of Cloth and Wool, &c. might, &c. (See Chap. 19. §. 1. *Note.*)

‖ See §. 3. *Note.*

‡ Well, but if that conſiderable Fleet did carry off a conſiderable Quantity of the Woolen Manufactures of *England*, as ſeems to be allowed, it might have afforded ſome Conſolation to a true ſpirited *Engliſhman*, ſeeing that the Weavers and Spinners, for whom this Writer expreſſes ſo much Compaſſion (§. 1.), would find Benefit from ſuch Exportation even of Foreigners. But he ſeems to have much in him of what I call the *mere Merchant*, who is ever ſubſtituting *himſelf* in the Place of his *Country*. That there are ſuch, and that it is poſſible for particular Merchants, as ſuch, to have an Intereſt ſeparate from that of their Country, Sir *Joſiah Child* [y], the *Britiſh Merchant* [z], and all the beſt Writers upon Trade, tho' Merchants themſelves, have freely averred.

[y] Ch. 69. §. 1.

[z] Ch. 98. §. 1.

Poor: First, in the Exportation of our Wool *; next, in tying up the Hands of so many of our own Merchants who were willing to trade to the *Levant*, which increased the Consumption of our Cloth, but it was by the Moths; next, in binding up so great a Part of the Clothiers Stocks in the common Seal of the *East-India* Company, the vast Quantities of our Teazles and Fuller's Earth [a], &c. that hath been exported to *Holland*, and that violent Stop in Trade that was made at *Worcester*, in a little Time after the Clothiers had sold off almost all their Cloth, I can believe no less than that there hath been a Design against the common Good of our Nation.

[a] Ch. 84. §. 15. Ch. 173.

CHAP.

* *An Act for the more effectual preventing the Exportation of Wool, and for encouraging the Importation thereof from* Ireland. 7, 8 Will. c. 28. *This Act recites*, 'That notwithstanding former Laws, the Exportation of Wool was still continued; repeals the Clause of 14 *Car.* II. by which it was Felony to export Wool; admits the Importation of Wool from *Ireland* to *Whitehaven*, *Leverpoole*, *Chester*, *Bristol*, *Bridgwater*, *Minehead*, *Barnstaple*, *Biddiford*, and to no other Ports; ordered an Account to be transmitted from *Ireland* once in six Months; Certificates to be writ on Paper; no Wool to be carried into *Scotland*, or within five Miles of the Sea Coasts, but between Sun rising and Sun setting; the Hundred [b], through which it passes (illegally) to be liable to Penalties for the same, &c. 'And for the better preventing the Exportation of Wool, one Ship of the *Fifth Rate*, and two of the *Sixth Rate*, and *four armed Sloops*, constantly to cruize from off the *North Foreland* to the Isle of *Wight*, with Orders, &c.

Wool Ports.

[b] Ch. 57. §. 27.

Ships and armed Sloops to cruize.

CHAP. LXXVII.

Conſiderations requiring greater Care for Trade in England, *and ſome Expedients propoſed.* London *printed,* 1695.

1. SOME Papers touching the Balance of Trade have been printed; wherein is ſeen how all Countries employ their Study to render it advantageous; in particular, before this War, 'tis plain how *France*, for twenty Years preceding, had gradually beaten out our Exportations thither, and turned the Balance vaſtly to her own Advantage. Several other Countries have done the like by us of late Years, in particular, touching the Woolen Cloth generally now fabricked by thoſe who uſed to be furniſhed from hence. So that whoever will give himſelf the Pains to enquire into the Acqueſts other Nations have made upon our Trade, will find no ſolid Ground to expect that *England* ſhould recover her former Glory without ſome new Advantages to Traffick from the Government.

2. The ſeveral Diſadvantages of Trade are not hereby propoſed to be inſiſted upon. The Sum of what is fit to be requeſted of our Repreſentatives is, *That an Act might paſs to conſtitute a* * *Council of Merchants ſedentary at* London,

* 'The Loſſes of the Merchants gave great Advantages to thoſe who complained of the Adminiſtration; their Conduct, with relation to our Trade, was repreſented as, at beſt, a Neglect of the Nation, and of its Proſperity: Some with a more ſpiteful Malice ſaid, it was deſigned that we ſhould ſuffer in our Trade, that the *Dutch* might carry it from us: And how extravagant ſoever this might ſeem, it was often repeated by ſome Men of violent Tempers. And in the end, when all the Errors, with relation to the Protection of our Trade, were ſet out and much aggravated: The Commons reſolved, *Firſt, That a Council of Trade be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament. Secondly, That Commiſſioners conſtituting the Council be nominated by Parliament*, &c. A Bill was ordered, tho' oppoſed by thoſe who looked upon the Eſtabliſhment of a Council of Trade by Act of Parliament, as a Change of our Conſtitution; *Contin. of* Rapin, p. 309. Page 310. *Council of Trade vo-ted.*

London, *and veſted with Powers only adapted to the Improvement and Security of Home Manufactures and foreign Trade for the future.* Wherefore let a Bill for this End be tendered this Parliament, *&c.* †

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'tution; becauſe tending to take the Executive Power out 'of the King's Hands; by which he would ſoon grow to 'be a Duke of *Venice*. And indeed thoſe who ſet this on 'moſt zealouſly, did not deny, that they intended to graft 'many things upon it.

'The King was ſo ſenſible of this, that he ordered his 'Miniſters to oppoſe it as much as they poſſibly could. Page 312. 'However, the Debates about a Council of Trade, by Act 'of Parliament, were going on; and it probably would *Burnet.* 'have paſs'd both Houſes, when the Diſcovery of a Con-'ſpiracy (*the Aſſaſſination Plot*) turned their Thoughts 'another way.'

† *An Act for encouraging the Linen Manufacture of* Ireland, *and bringing Flax and Hemp into, and the making of Sail-Cloth in, this Kingdom.* 7, 8 Will. c. 39. This Act recites, 'That great Sums of Money and Bullion were yearly 'exported out of the Kingdom for Hemp, Flax, and Linen, 'and all the Productions thereof;' which, it was thought, might be prevented in a great meaſure by this Act. *But admit it to have had that Effect; tho', upon the whole, it may have been good for the Nation, yet is it paſt all doubt, that the* Grower of Wool *muſt have ſuffered ſome Loſs by it, in that particular Branch of his Intereſt, as alſo by the Erection of every other Manufacture, heretofore imported,* in Exchange for Woolen Goods.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Acts and Occurrences, 1696—7.

1. *AN Act to reſtore the Market at* Blackwel-Hall *to the Clothiers, and for regulating the Factors there.* 8. 9. Will. III. c. 8. *. cc Ch. 62. §. 8. Ch. 76. §. 5. Ch. 138. §. 13.--21.

2. *An*

* This Act recites, that, 'By the great Increaſe of the 'Factors at *Blackwell-Hall*, and by the Advantages given 'them by the Governours of the ſaid Hall, not only by 'aſſigning them the moſt convenient Lights, but permitting 'them to hire Ware Houſes in the ſaid Hall to their own 'Uſes, into which they enter upon thoſe Days that are 'no Market Days, and carry the Clothiers Cloth thence, 'and expoſe them to Sale, in a clandeſtine Manner, in their 'own Houſes, whereby great Inconvenience and Diſcou-'ragement hath accrued to the Clothing Trade.' *Therefore* enacts, 'That the ſaid Market ſhall be held regularly 'on certain Days, at certain Hours. And that the Keepers 'of the ſaid Hall ſhall not permit the buying or ſelling of any 'Woolen Cloth, at the ſaid Hall, in, or upon, any other 'Days or Hours. That the Governours ſhall ſet forth and 'appoint unto the Clothiers of all Counties, that ſhall bring 'up Cloth to ſell at the ſaid publick Market, the moſt con-'venient Room in the ſaid Hall for the Sale of their Cloth; 'alſo Ware-Houſe Room for the ſafe keeping of any that 'ſhall be unſold, paying the ancient Duty and no more. 'That no Factor or any other Perſon, beſides the Owner 'of the Cloth, ſhall ſell, or cauſe to be ſold, or expoſe to 'ſale, out of the ſaid Market of *Blackwell-Hall*, any 'Cloths conſigned or directed by the Owner thereof to the 'ſaid Market, or to any Factor there: That the Clerks, '&c. ſhall keep weekly Regiſters of all the Cloths ſold 'in the ſaid Markets, entering the Names, Sirnames, and 'Places of Habitation of the Owner, Buyer, and Seller of 'every of the ſaid Cloths, together with the Time of the 'ſaid Sale thereof, and likewiſe of the Factor, or any other 'Perſon, other than the Owner, buying or ſelling the ſame, 'to the End Clothiers and others concerned, may be ſatiſ-'fied how their Cloths are diſpoſed of from Time to Time. 'And in Caſe any Perſon or Perſons ſhall buy any Cloth of 'any Factor or Factors, or other Perſon or Perſons, except 'of the Owner of ſuch Cloth, otherwiſe than for ready

2. *An Act for the further Encouragement of the Manufacture of Luteſtrings and Alamodes, and for the better preventing the Importation of the ſame.* c. 36.

3. *An Act for rendering the Laws more effectual, for preventing the Importation of Bonelace,* &c. 9, 10. Will. III. c. 9. *.

4. *An Act for the better Encouragement of the Royal Luteſtring Company.* c. 43. †.

5. *An Act for the Explanation and better Execution of former Acts made againſt Tranſportation of Wool, Fuller's Earth, and ſcowring Clay.* 9, 10. Will. III. c. 40. ‡.

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'Money: In every ſuch Caſe, the Perſon ſelling, ſhall 'within twelve Days next after the Sale and Delivery, take, 'or demand, a Note in Writing from the Perſon buying, 'teſtifying the Cloth ſo ſold, and the Sum of Money ſold 'for, and payable by ſuch Buyer to the Owner of ſuch 'Cloth according to the Contract, and ſhall deliver on De-'mand ſuch Note, with Notice of ſuch Buyer's Place of 'Abode to the Owner of the ſaid Cloth. And every 'Piece of Cloth not actually returned within eight Days after 'Sale and Delivery of the ſame, ſhall be deemed to be ap-'proved by the Buyer as a Merchantable Cloth.

'That every Factor ſhall before the 24th of *June* next, if 'required, give a particular Account to every Clothier of 'the Effects of ſuch Clothier in the Hands of ſuch Factor, 'and of the particular Cloths of ſuch Clothier or Owner 'of Cloth, and of the particular Sums of Money due to 'ſuch Clothier or Owner of Cloth by any Contract of ſuch 'Factor, and of the reſpective Names and Places of Abode 'of every Perſon from whom ſuch Sums are due.'

* Repealed, 11, 12. *Will.* III. c. 11. (See Ch. 114. §. 16.)

† This Act recites, That the Manufacture of black Luteſtrings, hath been very advantageous, and beneficial to this Kingdom, by employing great Numbers of Poor, and preventing the Exportation of our Coin, for purchaſing thoſe Commodities in foreign Parts. *From this, and other Inſtances, it may be obſerved, that tho' the* French *were gaining Ground in the Woolen Trade, yet were they loſing as much, and* England *gaining much more, in this, and other Manufactures. Nor have any Claſs of People in* England, *had juſt Cauſe of Complaint on this Head, except thoſe intereſted in the* Growth of Wool.

‡ Reciting that 'Notwithſtanding ſeveral Laws made to 'prevent the Exportation of Wool and Fullers Earth; yet 'nevertheleſs

'nevertheleſs the ſaid Exportation is ſtill *notoriouſly* conti-
'nued,' and therefore it enacts (Sect. 2.) 'that no Fullers
'Earth ſhall be exported out of this Kingdom, ſo much as
'to *Ireland*, under the Penalty of Forfeiture of 1 *s.* for
'every Pound. (§. 3.) That all Owners of Wool, ſhorn,
'houſed, or lodged within ten Miles of the Sea-Side, with-
'in *Kent* and *Suſſex*, ſhall be obliged to give an Account in
'Writing, within three Days after Sheering, of their Num-
'ber of Fleeces, and Weight, and the Name and Abode
'of the Perſon to whom it is diſpoſed, and the Place to
'which it is carried; and to take a Certificate from the Of-
'ficer who firſt entered the ſame; upon the Penalty of for-
'feiting all ſuch Wool; and the Owners alſo to be liable
'to the further Penalties of 3 *s.* for every Pound, as if the
'ſame had been tranſported; which Account the Officers
'are to take *gratis*, and to give ſuch Certificates, without
'Delay, and ſhall therein ſpecify the Names of the Owners
'and Buyers, and limit it to Times and Places to be
'removed; for which Service the Officers ſhall take 6 *d.* for
'each Certificate. (§. 4.) No Perſon reſiding within fifteen
'Miles of the Sea, in *Kent* and *Suſſex*, ſhall buy any Wool,
'before they enter into Bond to the King, with Sureties,
'that all the Wool they buy ſhall not be ſold by them to
'any Perſon within fifteen Miles of the Sea; unleſs ſuch
'Wool be firſt entered. —— —— ——
'(§. 5.) No Wool removed from the Place where it was
'firſt houſed, within ten Miles of the Sea, as aforeſaid,
'ſhall be lodged within fifteen Miles of the Sea in the
'Counties aforeſaid, upon Pain of forfeiting all ſuch Wool
'if found; but if carried away, the Owner to forfeit 3 *s.*
'for every Pound. (§. 16.) Every Perſon that ſhall lay any
'any Wool within fifteen Miles of the Sea, and not enter-
'ed, all ſuch Wool ſhall be forfeited; and every Perſon
'laying Claim to the ſame, ſhall give Security in his Maje-
'ſties *Exchequer* (if caſt upon Trial) to pay treble Coſts
'over and above the Penalties. (§. 8.) All Penalties before-
'mentioned, ſhall be diſtributed, *one Third* to his Majeſty,
'the other *two Thirds*, to ſuch as ſhall ſeize, and ſue for
'the ſame. (§. 9.) And whereas, by a former Act, Offen-
'ders were to be proſecuted within one Year, they may
'now be proſecuted at any Time within three Years. (§. 10.)
'Owners of Wool ſhorn and lodged within fifteen Miles of
'the Borders of *Scotland*, ſhall give an Account, make En-
'try, *&c.* as in the Counties of *Kent* and *Suſſex*. (§. 11.)
'And whereas the Hundred out of which Wool ſhould be
'exported, was by a former Act [d] made liable to the Pe- [d] Ch. 76.
'nalties of Exporters, the Hundred of *Winchelſea* in the §. 14.
'*Cinque Ports*, being divided by a navigable Arm of the *Note.*
'Sea, ſhall be conſidered as two diſtinct Hundreds.

CHAP. LXXIX.

An Eſſay on the Eaſt-India *Trade, in a Letter to the Marqueſs of* Normandy.

By Dr. Davenant. 1696-7. *.

My LORD,

Page 4. 1. YOU deſire to have my Opinion in general, of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, and particularly, my Thoughts concerning the † Bill for prohiting the wearing of all *Eaſt-India*, and *Perſia* wrought Silks, Bengals, and dyed, printed, or ſtained Callicoes.

2. Whoever looks ſtrictly and nicely, into our Affairs, will find, that the Wealth *England* had once, did ariſe chiefly from two Articles, firſt, our Plantation Trade, ſecondly, our *Eaſt India* Traffick ‡.

Page 8. 2. The Woolen Manufactures, Tin, Lead, *&c.* are indeed, the Baſis of all our Traffick. The Woolen Manufacture

* The Date of the Book of which this makes a Part, is, 1698. But upon a Blank Leaf of the Volume is wrote. '*For* Robert Harley, *Eſq; from the Author*, Jan. 14, 1697.' And this particular Eſſay is an Appendix to the ſaid Volume, with a Title Page, which ſays, it had been publiſhed the Year before.

Salmon's Chronol. Hiſt. 1697. † A. D. 1697, April. '*Tumults of the Weavers in* London, on Account of Calicoes and other *Indian* Manufactures imported: They had very near ſeized the Treaſure at the *Eaſt-India* Houſe.' Which Tumult, I ſuppoſe, to have been occaſioned by the Miſcarriage of this Bill; againſt which we find employed one of the fineſt Pens of thoſe Times, but, ſome have ſaid, on this Occaſion particularly, a mercenary one. The Arguments made uſe of by this Writer, deſerve eſpecial Notice from the *Gentlemen of England*, as ſhewing what Lengths the Advocates for a particular Intereſt did occaſionally run, upon Suppoſition, one would believe, that the *Landed Intereſt* might be perſuaded out of their Senſes, or rather, I think, preſuming that *They* had already loſt them.

Ch. 19, 26. ‡ This Gentleman, becauſe, not for his Purpoſe, overlooks entirely the ancient Trade of *England* to *Antwerp*, and the golden Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

facture is undoubtedly, by Laws, and all poſſible Care, to be encouraged; but 'tis its Exportation, and * *not the Conſumption* * *of it at Home*, that muſt bring Profit to the Kingdom. e *See* Chap. 100.

3. As to the *Eaſt India Trade* in general, if all *Europe*, by common Conſent, would agree to have no further Dealings to thoſe Parts, this Side of the World, by ſuch a Reſolution, would certainly ſave a great and continual Expence of Treaſure. For *Europe* draws from thence nothing of ſolid Uſe, Materials to ſupply Luxury, and only periſhable Commodities; and ſends thither Gold and Silver, which is there buried, and never returns. But the Burthen, which this Commerce lays upon the collective Body of *Europe*, in ſinking Treaſure that never returns, for Matters of mere Luxury, does bear hard only upon thoſe Countries, which conſume the *Indian* Commodities, without having any Share of the Traffick; and therefore *France* did very wiſely, about 12 Years ago, prohibit the wearing of Callicoes, that were not of their own Importation. §. 10. Page 11. Page 13.

* This is, as if a Gentleman, having a large Family, ſhould be told, it is the cheaper Way, to buy his Bread aud Beer, than to Bake and Brew; for ſurely, by the Word *Conſumption*, our Author does not mean wilful Waſte, or wanton Deſtruction, but neceſſary Uſe; and in that Senſe, Woolen Manufacture, from *Engliſh* Wool, by *Engliſh* Labour, conſumed at home, is equally profitable, as the Exportation of it; ſince it is a certain ſaving f of ſo much Money, as otherwiſe *muſt* be ſent out of the Kingdom, to be paid for foreign Materialss, and foreign Labour; and tho' ſome Merchants will be always ready to adviſe the Contrary, becauſe, as Brokers, it is for their Anvantage, under all Events; yet, for the Nation, the People in general, 'tis much Safer, in reſpect of Clothing, to be content with their own Manufacture, than to be at the certain Expence, firſt, of buying in one foreign Country, and then to truſt to the uncertain Chance of ſelling theirs in another, in order to pay for the ſame; and this more eſpecially, becauſe it is the Wiſdom of moſt Nations (for the Sake of encouraging the Conſumption of their own Produce and Manufacture, and by that Means, to prevent as much as may be, the carrying out of Money) to diſcourage the Importation of the like Manufacture to their own, or what is any Way equivalent thereto. f Ch. 80. §. 6.

4. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, which together are not a tenth Part of *Europe*, enjoy this Traffick almoſt with-
Page 14. out any Rivalſhip. So that the Burthen, whatever it is, lies upon the other nine Parts; and the Gold and Silver it carries out, is truly, and properly, at their Coſt.

5. To imagine all *Europe* will come to an Agreement of dealing no more to thoſe Parts, is abſurd; and therefore it would be egregious Folly in us, to quit this Advantage, and leave it entirely to the *Hollanders*.

6. By the beſt Account I can have, *England*, before the War, exported annually for this Traffick, either in Bullion, or our Manufactures (of which the Manufactures might be near an eighth Part) 400,000 *l.*

7. Suppoſe we conſume at Home, the Returns of 200,000 *l.* But, by the way, the Company of late Years, have carried out to the Value of 100,000 *l. per Ann.* in our Manufactures.

Page 15. 8. If the Company export to other Nations, the Returns of the other 200,000 *l.* (which I may ſafely affirm they did) *England* muſt certainly be a great Gainer by this Traffick. The Returns from *India*, when exported to other Countries, muſt increaſe fourfold, and produce 800,000 *l.*

So then the Accompt ſtands thus,	£.
Returns exported, yield *per Ann.*	800,000
Returns conſumed at Home, coſt	200,000
Total	1,000,000
Deduct prime Coſt	400,000
England Net Gainer by this Traffick	600,000

Page 16. 9. Nothing can be a clearer Gain to this Nation, than the Returns of the 200,000 *l.* conſumed at Home, becauſe treble that Sum would otherwiſe be carried out for foreign Silks and Linen; which is hindered by the Importation of *Eaſt India* Commodities.

Page 17. Page 18. 10. If the *Eaſt India* Trade did in peaceful Times, bring ſo great an Increaſe to the annual Income of the Kingdom (and I think the contrary is capable of no clear Demon-

Demonſtration *) the legiſlative Power ought to proceed with much Caution, in any Matter relating to it.

11. The Scarcity of Money in a long War, makes the Exportation of Bullion thought a great Grievance, of which, in quiet Times, we ſhould not be ſenſible.

12. In the ſame manner, the Interruption of any Manufacture, though never ſo † prejudicial to the Kingdom, is grievous in a time of War, when Buſineſs is ſcarce, and Trading dull; but in a time of Peace and full Employment, theſe Hands can ſhift from one Work ‡ to another, without any great Prejudice to themſelves, or the Publick. Page 19.

13. There having been for three Years laſt paſt, a great want of *Eaſt India* Goods, and there happening of late, a great Call for Woolen Manufactures, and indeed, for all the Product of *England*, ſome unthinking Perſons grew preſently to imagine, that the want of *Eaſt India* Goods (and no other Reaſon,) had brought the Woolen Manufacture into Requeſt, and increaſed its Conſumption; from whence very many have begun to argue and infer, that the *Eaſt India* Trade ‖, is, and always was, prejudicial to the Kingdom.

14. But the ſudden Call which was then for all kind of *Engliſh* Commodities, as well as the Woolen Manu-

* Obſerve the Fallacy of this Writer, in requiring his Opponents to demonſtrate the contrary, of what it was incumbent on himſelf to have proved.

† It had been well, to have inſtanced in ſome Manufacture, that was, as the Author inſinuates, prejudicial to the Kingdom. I ſuppoſe, he might mean prejudicial to the Sale of *Eaſt India* Silks and Callicoes, namely, the Silk and Stuff Weavers, as he pretty well explains himſelf in the latter part of this Section. (See the Note upon it.)

‡ Though this might be a good Argument for favouring one Manufacture, rather than another, or for giving equally into all Kinds of Manufacture, both for home Uſe, and for Exportation; yet is it a ſorry Reaſon for introducing foreign Manufactures, to the Prejudice of thoſe at home.

‖ In this Tract, great Care is taken, to confound the *Eaſt India* Trade in general, with that of importing Silks and Callicoes for home Uſe, to the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Manufactures of Wool, and Silk and Linen. But we ſhall find hereafter, that the Parliament knew how to diſtinguiſh, in this Caſe.

factures, did not proceed from the want of *East India* Page 20. Goods, but from the Posture of Exchange abroad, the ill Condition of our Silver Coin, and the high Price Guineas was brought to: For we plainly see this great Demand, both abroad and at home, for our Goods, does cease, now Guineas are lowered, and the Coin is altered.

15. The Concern of Wool, is, without doubt, to be taken Care of, but not so, as upon that Account, to slight all our foreign Interest.

16. The *East India* Company, has been for a long Time, looked upon with an evil Eye, by some People, Page 21. because there has been formerly ill Management in their [g] Ch. 76. Affairs[g]; and for that, some of their Goods were thought §. 8. *Note.* to hinder the Consumption of our own Manufactures; and because it was seen what Silver they really carried out, and not enough considered what Bullion their Effects brought hither in return.

17. Some Persons without Doors (either bribed by the [h] Ch. 70. *Dutch*[h]) or to flatter that Interest, profess themselves §. 17. open Enemies to the Traffick in general. Others join with them, out of an immoderate Zeal to the Woolen Manufacture.

Page 24. 18. I proceed, to deliver my Opinion concerning the Bill for prohibiting the wearing all *East India* and *Persia* wrought Silks, *Bengals*, and dyed, printed or stained Callicoes.

They who promote this Bill, say, 1. It will advance the Consumption of Wool, and the Woolen Manufactures. 2. The Silk and Linen Manufactures of *England*. 3. This Prohibition, by Act of Parliament, may be effected, without Ruin to the *East India* Traffick in general.

Page 25. 19. First, *as to the Woolen Manufacture*, Trade is the general Concern of this Nation; but every distinct Trade has its distinct Interest. The Legislature is concerned for the whole.

Page 27. 20. The natural Way of promoting the Woolen Manufacture, is, not to force its Consumption at home, but by wholsome Laws to contrive, that it may be wrought cheap in *England*, which consequently, will enable us to command the Markets abroad.

21. No

21. No Country in *Europe*, manufactures all Kinds of Goods, ſo dearly as this Kingdom. The Act for Maintenance of the Poor is the Cauſe, as it encourages Sloth. Page 28.

22. To make *England* * a true Gainer by the Woolen Manufacture, we ſhould be able to work the Commodity ſo cheap, as to under-ſell all Comers to the Markets abroad. Page 29.

23. 'Tis not the Benefit, nor Intereſt of *England* in general, *that Wool ſhould bear an high Price in our Markets at home.* ☜

24. By a *great Conſumption of the Woolen Manufactures within this Kingdom, the Publick will not reap ſuch an Advantage as ſome imagine* [i]. ☜ [i] §. 2.

25. Fine Broad Cloth, was the ancient Drapery of *England*, 'tis the natural Iſſue and Product of the Kingdom †, inimitable abroad. But though the Wool of other Places, is not ſo fit for Workmanſhip as ours, the Commodity is abounding almoſt in all Countries of *Europe*; and if the Cloth of *England*, be brought any Way to bear too high a Price, it may put ſome of our Neighbours, either upon the Induſtry of manufacturing their own better, or upon the Frugality to content themſelves with what they can make at home. This cannot be prevented, if by Arts and Inventions, we endeavour to give Wool an unnatural Price here at home. *And therefore I ſay*, England *reaps no ſuch Advantage, by a large Conſumption of the Woolen Manufacture within this Kingdom* ‡. *Note.* Page 30. ☜

26. In the Woolen Manufacture, *England* does not get by what is ſpent [k] here by the People, but by what is ſold abroad in other Countries. Page 31. [k] *See* §. 2. *Note.*

27. If

* By *England*, is here meant the *Merchant only*. For if the Manufacturer is to have little for his Labour, and the Grower *leſs*, as we ſhall ſee [l], for his Wool, who but the Merchant, can be a Gainer by the Woolen Trade? [l] §. 23.

† I ſuppoſe, this Gentleman did not know, that the fineſt Cloth was made of *Spaniſh Wool only*.

‡ A very pretty Doctrine this. The Exportation of Wool had been prohibited, in order to render it, and to keep it, *cheap*. This was not ſufficient, but that it might be ſtill *cheaper*, the Conſumption of the Manufacture at Home, is, acording to this Author, to be diſcouraged.

27. If the People of *England* are pleaſed to wear *India Silks* and Stuffs, of which the prime Coſt in *India*, is not above a fourth Part of what their own Commodities would ſtand them in here, and if they are thereby enabled to export ſo much of their own Product, whatever is ſo ſaved, is a clear Gain to the Kingdom in general.

Page 33. 28. 'Tis granted, that *Bengals* and ſtained Callicoes, and other *Eaſt India* Goods, do hinder the Conſumption of *Norwich* Stuffs, *&c.* But the ſame Objection will lye againſt the Uſe of any Thing that is foreign.

29. That the *Eaſt India* Goods do ſomethingint erfere with the Woolen Manufacture, muſt undoubtedly be granted. Yet if 100,000 *l.* prime * Coſt in *India*, will ſupply the room of 400,000 *l.* of our own Manufactures, it will enable us to divert ſo much of our own Manufacture into foreign Markets; and 400,000 *l.* worth of our native Goods, ſold abroad, does add more Wealth to the Nations Stock, than four † Millions worth of our home Product, conſumed within the Kingdom.

Page 34. 30. But beſides, ſuppoſe the Prohibition to take Place, I don't ſee how it would advance the Vent of our home Product. For if they hinder the Conſumption of the Woolen Manufacture at home, will they not, when exported, hinder its Conſumption and Sale abroad. And if the *Engliſh* are not allowed to import them, will not the *Dutch* do it ſo much the more, and thereby hurt pro-

* There are many Objections to be made to this Argument, beſides this, *that the Caſe is by no means fairly ſtated*, in comparing the *prime Coſt only* of the *India* Goods, in *India*, with the *full Value* of the *Engliſh* Manufacture, as ready for Uſe or Exportation. He ſhould have ſaid, what *India* Goods of that Amount, prime Coſt, *viz.* in *India*, would be ſold for in *England*, excluſive of the Duties to the Crown; all beyond that, and which is to be conſidered as Profit or Wages to the Factors abroad, is no otherwiſe a Profit to the Nation, than as it is expended upon the Produce and Manufactures of their own Country; what is otherwiſe beſtowed by them upon the Produce and Manufactures of other Countries, is ſo much Money quite ſunk to the Nation.

† This is an equivocal falſe Aſſertion. *See* Chap. 80. §. 3. *Note*.

proportionably abroad, the Vent and Conſumption of our *Engliſh* Manufacture.

31. As to the *Silk and Linen Manufacture*, Wiſdom is moſt commonly in the Wrong, when it pretends to direct Nature. It is our Fault, if we do not enjoy the Woolen Manufacture, without any Rivalſhip. There is no Trade ſo advantageous, eſpecially, to an Iſland, as that of buying Goods in one Country, to ſell them in another. There is Gain by Freight, it makes a Conſumption of our home Product, it breeds Seamen, increaſes Shipping, and improves Navigation. And any home Manufacture, that hinders this Kind of Traffick, or that indeed interferes with it, is pernicious, and ought in Wiſdom, and by all Rules of Policy, to be diſcouraged by the Publick. Page 35. Page 36. Page 37. Page 38.

32. Silk is a Manufacture of a foreign Extract, and not the genuine Product of this Country. It employs indeed the Poor, but is not compoſed from a Material of our own Growth. Whatever Encouragement it meets with, it cannot thrive with us, being not calculated for our Meridian. Page 40. Page 41.

33. If the Luxury of wearing Silk, could be quite aboliſhed, ſuch a Reformation would undoubtedly be beneficial to the Kingdom. As that is not to be expected, a wiſe State muſt conſider, which Way the Folly of their People can be ſupplied at the cheapeſt Rate; conſequently, inſtead of prohibiting, we ſhould, after the Example of the [m] *Dutch*, (who have alſo a Silk Manufacture) encourage Importation of *India* Silks.

[m] *See* Ch. 177.

34. As to the *Linen Manufacture*, it is no more the genuine Offſpring of this Kingdom, than that of Silk. The Growth of this Manufacture would obſtruct Trade, and other Buſineſs more important to the Nation. §. 23, 24. Page 44. Page 45.

35. Our noble Staple of Wool, is undoubtedly capable of great Improvement, to which the Increaſe of Wages (that muſt happen upon an Increaſe of the Linen Manufacture) will be a conſiderable Hinderance. And one cannot riſe, but to the Prejudice of the other; becauſe we really want People and Hands, to carry on both to their full Perfection. Page 46.

36. It is more the general Intereſt of *England*, to export Woolen Manufacture, in Exchange abroad for Linen,

Linen, than to make * it here at Home; which Trade has been ſet on Foot, and proſpered very much, ſince the Prohibition of *French* Goods, during this War.

37. But if we provide ourſelves at home with Linen ſufficient for our Conſumption, and do not want that which is brought from *Sileſia*, *Saxony*, *Bohemia*, and *Poland*, this Trade muſt ceaſe; for theſe Northern Countries have neither Money nor other Commodities; and if we deal with them, we muſt be content to barter our Cloths for their Linen.

Page 48. 38. After much Thought upon this Subject, I conclude, that our Silk and Linen Manufactures obſtruct Trades more profitable to the Kingdom. And tho' a Prohibition of *Eaſt India Goods*, may advance their preſent Intereſt, who are engaged in the Silk and Linen Manufactures here, yet that it will bring no future Advantage to the Kingdom, but will *utterly diſable the preſent* Eaſt India *Company, or any other to be erected hereafter, from ſupporting and carrying on the Trade.*

39. It is plain to me, that the intended Prohibition muſt prove, tho' not a ſudden, yet a certain Deſtruction to it. 'Twill be lopping from this Trade, the Branches, and taking away ſome of the Bark, and Part of the Root; the Trunk indeed will be left, but ſo maimed and injured, that it can never ſpread and flouriſh; nay, it will be in Danger of being utterly deſtroyed, and loſt to the Kingdom.

CHAP.

* This Argument has more Truth in it, than ſome others made uſe of by this Writer. Nevertheleſs, the Legiſlature has, from Time to Time, thought proper to give large Encouragements to the Linen Manufacture, as well in *Great-Britain*, as *Ireland*; in which I believe, they have judged it wiſely in the main; although the Woolen Exportation Trade of *England*, has moſt certainly been impaired in ſome Degree, by this, and the like Policies. How far thoſe Policies, either in Equity or Wiſdom, comport with that particular Meaſure, of *prohibiting abſolutely the Exportation of Wool*, is a Matter very fit to be conſidered.

CHAP. LXXX.

England *and* East India, *inconſiſtent in their Manufactures; being an Anſwer to a Treatiſe, Intitled,* An Eſſay on the *Eaſt India* Trade, *&c.* 1697.

1. THE many Objections formerly made againſt the *Eaſt India Trade*, on Account of the Exportation of Bullion, and Importation of Goods manufactured, were uſually anſwered by the Advocates for that Trade, that ſuch Goods were not ſpent in *England*, but re-exported, and ſo occaſioned the Importation of more Bullion than ever was exported. But now it is owned, that one half of the ſaid Goods are conſumed at home; and that thoſe manufactured Goods do hinder the Conſumption of what are fabrick't by our own People.

2. But with Regard to the Woolen Manufacture, this Author appears to be of Opinion, that our Nobility, Gentry, and landed Men, make too much of their Eſtates, by ſelling their Wool too dear; and that after many Thoughts about it, he had found out an effectual Way to remedy this Evil, by endeavouring to perſuade them, that it is advantageous for us to ſend our Money to the *Indies*, to buy manufactured Goods there, to be ſpent at home, as well as abroad, in the room of our Woolen Goods: That this indeed, will make Wool cheap, but that will turn to the Profit of the Kingdom in general; foraſmuch, as thoſe that drive the *India* Trade, may at the ſame Time, make 400 *l.* of 100 *l.* Page 19. Chap. 79. §. 23.

3. That our Woolen Goods conſumed at home, do not inrich † the Nation, and that a high Price on our Woolen Manufactures, may hinder the Sale of them, Page 20.

is

† As Dr. *Davenant* himſelf hath acknowledged [n], 'Expence muſt ariſe from Income; which ariſes from Land, 'Trade, Arts, Labour. We underſtand that to be Wealth, 'which maintains the Prince, and the general Body of his 'People, in Plenty, Eaſe, and Safety.' And therefore this Author grants much more than is neceſſary, in admitting that

[n] Davenant *of* *publick* *Revenues.* Part 1. p. 23. Part 2. p. 60.

is agreed; but that we muſt therefore ſend our Money to *India*, to purchaſe the manufactured Goods made in thoſe Parts, to be ſpent at home, and abroad, in the room of our own, in order to bring down the Price of them, by making Wool and Labour cheap, are falſe Concluſions drawn from true Premiſes. 4. If that Woolen Goods conſumed at home, do not enrich the Nation, ſince nothing is ſo certainly enriching to it, foraſmuch, as *Money ſaved*, is *Money got*. But becauſe that is no Part of the Balance of Trade directly, therefore, I ſuppoſe, ſome will have it to be no Part of the Riches of the Kingdom. This is for want of a true and full Idea of what are Riches; of which I cannot conceive otherwiſe, but that whatſoever enables a Community to live plentifully, and contribute largely to the Support of Government, is truly, and properly, *Riches*. This, a large Conſumption of home Produce and Manufacture, of the latter eſpecially, does certainly. It does not indeed increaſe directly the Stock of Bullion in the Kingdom, but it does what is much more, it certainly gives a briſk Circulation to what is already there. And Money itſelf is not properly *Riches*, *i. e.* it is not ſerviceable to a Community, but as it is circulated. Now four Millions at home [o], conſumed in home Manufacture, makes ten times the Circulation, gives Life to ten times the Expence in Proviſions and Taxes, that 400,000 *l.* ſent abroad in home Manufacture, does. In ſhort, Trade is twofold, foreign and domeſtick; and tho' neither is to be ſlighted, but on the contrary, cultivated with the greateſt Care and Diligence, yet (according to the Britiſh Merchant [p]) the latter is of the far greateſt Conſequence. A larger home Conſumption of home Produce and Manufacture, is a certain Advantage, A leſs Exportation of the ſame abroad is uncertainly ſo. If for Inſtance, which is too often the Caſe, to force a Vent abroad, and make more Buſineſs and Profit to Merchants, more in Value of conſumeable Commodities is imported upon the Whole from foreign Countries, than is exported thither of home Produce and Manufacture; in that Caſe, though there is an Appearance of Trade, and the Merchants are Gainers, yet the Nation really loſes. But home Conſumption of home Produce and Manufacture, is a Means of enriching a Nation, as certain, as that improving Lands, is a Means of increaſing their Rents, altho' the Number of Acres are not increaſed; while the exporting of home Produce and Manufacture, is only accidentally enriching, *i. e.* provided leſs in Value, of conſumeable Commodities, is imported in Return, than was exported. *I have ſaid thus much, only to ſhew the great Miſtake*

[o] *See* Ch. 79. §. 29.

[p] *See* Ch. 100. §. 1, 2, 11.

4. If after we have uſed our beſt endeavours to keep up the Price of Wool, and the Expence of our Woolen Goods, it ſhould be our Misfortune to be diſappointed, by the Increaſe of ſuch Fabricks in other Places, or Diſuſe in the Expence of them, we ſhould, and ought to ſubmit, with Patience; but it would be unanſwerable, to be ſo zealous to have it done, as to give the firſt Blow ourſelves, by diſcouraginging the Expence of them at home. Page 21.

5. The Author of this Treatiſe might have done well to have told us, to what Price he would have Wool fall, and in what Places we can conſume more Woolen Goods abroad. No Reaſon will appear for bringing home, or encouraging the Expence of theſe Goods, if not in order totally to ruin the Manufactory; unleſs we could be aſſured, that the falling of Wool and Manufactures to a low Price, would firſt ruin thoſe other Manufactures, and then, that ours would certainly advance in Price again [q]. And we ſhould alſo have been told, how the *Landed Men* and *Poor* ſhould ſubſiſt, whilſt the Experiment was making, and how in Caſe the Project ſhould not take, we might retrieve the Loſs incurred by trying it. [q] Ch. 45. §. 1, 2.

6. What Woolens, Silks and Linens, and other Goods of our own Make, we ſpend at home, are for the Supply of our Neceſſities, and hitherto have been thought very advantageous, as ſaving much Expence in foreign Goods of the like Sort. If we ſhould reject our own, and prefer the Conſumption of thoſe from *India*, we may reaſonably expect, that other Nations ſhould, by our Example, do the ſame; and ſo by our own Endeavours, we ſhould deſtroy what we ought to be induſtrious to preſerve. Page 23.

7. But if it ſhould be underſtood, that notwithſtanding what hath been ſaid, it is our Intereſt to ſpend theſe *Indian* Goods at home, that we may ſave our Woolen Goods for Exportation; if no Stop muſt be put to ſpending

Miſtake of thoſe who make light of the home Conſumption of Woolen Manufactures in England; *which is vaſtly great, and of immenſe Advantage to the Nation; not to diſparage the Exportation of the ſame, which is alſo of prodigious Conſequence, as is every other Article of our Trade, which tends to turn the Balance in our Favour.*

ing them, either at home or abroad. If ſuch great Gains
Page 24. be made on them, why may not the *Eaſt India* Merchants be tempted, to go on increaſing in this Trade, 'till they bring ſufficient Quantities to ſupply all Markets abroad, as well as at home. Therefore, we ſhould have been told, what we ſhould do with our *Wool* and People too, if that Trade ſhould thus increaſe upon us; which is more probable, than that the Expence of our Woolen Manufactures will increaſe, if the Conſumption of thoſe Goods from *India* be continued.

Page 25. 8. In ſhort, the Arguments of this Writer, are as contradictory, as it would be to affirm, that the beſt Way of preſerving Life, is, for a Man to cut his own Throat.

[r] Ch. 79. §. 31, 34. 9. As to *Silk and Linen Manufacture*, theſe, it ſeems [r], are not the genuine Offspring of this Land, nor the Manufacture thereof, calculated for our Meridian. How Silks and Linens perfectly manufactured in *India*, bought with our own Money, ſhould be eſteemed more genuine, or better calculated for our Meridian, than our Silks and Linen manufactured at home, by our own People, is not apparent to all Mens Underſtanding; eſpecially, ſince the Linens are fabrick't from Materials of our own Growth, and the raw Silk we generally have, is purchaſed by the Product of our own Manufactures, and but of ſmall Value, in Proportion to the Labour beſtowed in making it, (which muſt be owned to be all our own) and that we cannot ſpend our Goods in *Italy* and *Turky*, without taking their Silk in Return.

Page 31. 10. If the original, or chief Cauſe or Means of Riches, muſt be from the Labour of the People, how do ſuch Arguments, as are uſed in this Tract, conſiſt with that Maxim? Our Woolen Manufactures muſt be reduced to near one Half, by not ſpending them at home. Silk and Linen Manufactures are not convenient. And if Paper, Shoes, &c. had ſtood in the Way of *Eaſt India* Goods, it is probable, that by the ſame way of arguing, thoſe would have been cryed down too. We ſhould ſurely have been told, how our Induſtry and Stock could have been better employed, than in ſuch Manufactures, before ſuch Advice ſhould be given for the Diſcouragement of Woolen, Silks and Linen.

Page 33. If the Author of this Eſſay, had gone as often to *Spittle-Fields* or *Canterbury*, as, it may be preſumed, he hath

hath to the *India-Houſe*, and had informed himſelf what vaſt Numbers of both Sexes, and all Ages, are employed in that Manufacture, and had their ſole Dependance thereon, he would probably have changed his Opinion.

12. That this Manufacture of Silk, hath increaſed very much in this Age, notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties, is an undeniable Proof againſt what is aſſerted, namely, that it cannot thrive in *England*.

CHAP. LXXXI.

The Advantage of the East India *Trade to* England, *conſidered, wherein all the Objections to that Trade, are fully anſwered* *, 1697-8.

1. IT is generally objected againſt the *Eaſt India* Trade to *England*, that it carries out a great Quantity of Bullion, and returns chiefly Manufactures to be conſumed in *England*; that the Labourer hereby loſes his Employment, that the Landholders Rent muſt be abated. Page 1.

2. To export Bullion to the *Eaſt Indies*, for the Manufactures of thoſe Countries, is to exchange it for more and better Manufactures, than are elſewhere to be procured for the ſame Quantity of Bullion; conſequently, it is an advantageous Exchange. Page 17.

3. To

* The Copy of this Tract, now before me, was printed in 1720. But it appears to have been wrote, during the Strife between the old and new *Eaſt-India* Companies; whence I conclude this to have been a ſecond Edition, on Account of the Conteſt then on Foot, (*An.* 1720.) about the Uſe of Calicoes, printed and painted in *England*. It is pretty long, pretends to Argument; though tautologous, yet is ſubtle; and, I think, ſophiſtical. I have very much contracted, but I hope preſerved the Senſe, and given the Subſtance of it.

Page 34. 3. To this it is objected, that tho' the Exchange is profitable to private Perſons, yet the Kingdom is not richer for it. But if one Man procures as much Value by his Labour from *India*, as three produced before in *England*, he poſſeſſes as much as all the three before; and the Riches of the other two, are not reduced to nothing; their Labour, tho' perhaps leſs valuable, is ſtill worth ſomething, and whatever it is worth, is ſo much Gain to the Kingdom. Eſpecially, if upon the whole, our Bullion is increaſed by this Trade. And that it is, I thus prove. We have no Mines; it is received in Exchange for the Manufactures which are exported. We carry to the *Indies*, Bullion, we import Manufactures at a cheap Rate, have proportionably ſo many more than heretofore, either *Indian*, or native Manufactures, to export; conſequently we gain our Bullion again, with Profit, *i. e.* more Bullion.

Page 51. 4. Wherefore the People employed to make Manufactures here, more than are neceſſary to procure the like from *Iudia*, are not employed to the Kingdoms Profit. And certainly, every individual Perſon in *Eng-*
Page 54. *land*, might be employed to ſome Profit, to do ſome Work, which cannot be done without him; at leaſt, the contrary is not evident, ſo long as any Country poſſeſſes any Thing, which *England* wants.

Page 60. 5. Thus the *Eaſt India* Trade, is moſt likely to make Work for all the People, by enlarging their Buſineſs in the preſent, and by being the Cauſe * of ſetting on Foot, new Works.

6. It is very true, that the *Engliſh* Manufacture cannot be ſold ſo dear, or rather the *Eaſt India* Trade, will put an End to many of our *Engliſh* Manufactures; and the Men that were employed in them, will betake themſelves to others. By the Increaſe of Labourers, in which *other Employments*, the Price of Work will be abated. If
Page 61. the Price of *Engliſh* Manufactures ſhall be abated, the Vent thereof will be increaſed, and in the End more People employed. But tho' the Price of Work, I have ſaid, be thus abated by the *Eaſt India* Trade, it does not follow, that there will be an Abatement of *Wages* on that Score;

* §. 7. * As Neceſſity is ſaid to be the Cauſe of Invention.

Score; and if no Abatement of Wages, Proviſions, and conſequently Rents *, will not be abated.

7. For the *Eaſt India* Trade, by putting Perſons upon Invention, may be the Cauſe of doing Things with leſs Labour; and then, tho' Wages ſhould not, the Price of Manufactures might be abated. Page 65.

8. Arts, and Mills, and Engines, which ſave the Labour of Hands, are Ways of doing Things with Labour of leſs Price, tho' the Wages of Men, employed to do them, ſhould not be abated. And the *Eaſt India* Trade procures Things with leſs, and cheaper Labour, than would be neceſſary to make the like in *England*; it is therefore very likely to be the Cauſe of the Invention of Arts and Engines †, to ſave the Labour of Hands in other Manufactures; theſe are the Effects of Neceſſity and Page 66.

* As if Wool contributed nothing to the Rents of *England*.

† It is true, that Arts and Engines, are of great Uſe in many Reſpects; but in the firſt Place, there is no Reaſon to create Wants, in order to whet the Invention of People, which is otherwiſe ſufficiently excited by natural Indigence, and the Hopes of Gain. In the next Place, the Woolen Manufacture, of all Arts, ſeems to afford the leaſt room for the compendious Methods of working, which are here hinted at; foraſmuch, as the Spinning, which is a principal Part, and ſome others, are unavoidably the Reſult of ſingle Hand-labour. We have been told indeed, of an Engine contrived to make Linen Cloth, as to the Weaving Part, and which if practicable in that, might poſſibly be made ſerviceable for Weaving Woolen alſo. What has been the Succeſs of it, I don't know. But the ſuppoſed Conveniency thereof, were as follows. 'One Mill will ſet ten or twelve of theſe Looms 'at Work; you may make Cloth of what Breadth you 'pleaſe. There will be fewer Knots in the Cloth, ſince 'the Threads will not break ſo faſt, as in other Looms, 'becauſe the Shuttle that breaks the greateſt Part, can never 'touch them. In ſhort, the Work will be carried on 'quicker, and at leſs Charge, in Regard, that inſtead of 'ſeveral Workfolks, which are required in making very 'large Cloths, one Boy will ſerve to tie the Threads of the 'ſeveral Looms, as faſt as they break, and to order the 'Quills about the Shuttle.'

An Engine to make Linen Cloth. By M. de Gennes. *Phil. Tranſ. Abridged.* Vol. 1. p. 589--590.

and Emulation; every Man muſt ſtill be inventing, or improving upon the Invention of other Men.

Page 72. 9. The *Eaſt India* Trade then abates only the Price of Manufactures (by Means of Arts and Engines) not the Wages of the Labourer; ſo that he is able to buy more Manufactures, more Conveniencies of Life, with the ſame Labour. Thus we may come to have more Manufactures, and in Time, may perhaps, be able to carry on the Fiſhing Trade in *England*.

10. And as Rents will not be abated by Exportation of Bullion, nor by Diminution of the Conſumers, nor by Abatement of Wages, it follows, that they will not be abated at all, by letting the Produce of *India* into *Engliſh* Markets, and leaſt of all, by *Indian* Manufactures; eſpecially, as it is the Senſe of People, that the unwrought Things of *India* cannot do it *.

Page 79. 11. Men are very careful to preſerve their Rents. But above all, Gentlemen are in the greateſt Diſquiets for their Wool. Both the Living and Dead muſt be wrapped in Woolen; nor is any Law wanting to complete the Buſineſs, but only one, that our Perukes ſhould be made of Wool. Nevertheleſs, the unwrought Things of *India* are let alone; theſe are neither directly, nor by high Cu-

Page 80. ſtoms prohibited; theſe therefore, in the Opinon of Gentlemen, are not dangerous to the Rents, are not likely to abate the Price of the Produce of their Eſtates. Which tho' it does not prove, that Gentlemen do not miſtake their own Intereſt, yet, that *Indian* Manufactures cannot abate the Price of the meer Produce of the Eſtate, may be thus demonſtrated.

Page 82. 12. Manufacture will not be made in *England* by dearer, if as good a one ſhall be procured from *India*, by cheaper Labour. So that the Labour that is neceſſary to *Engliſh* Manufacture, muſt be lowered to the Standard of

§. 9--10. the Labour †, that procures the *Indian* Manufacture. In other Words, the Price of *Engliſh* Manufacture muſt be levelled to the Price of *Indian* Manufactures; and whatever the Difference is, it muſt be abated, upon Labour only, not the Material, as, ſuppoſe, Wool.

13. For

* Compare this and §. 9. with §. 12—15.

13. For Wool is not dearer in *England*, than Cotton or raw Silk in *India*; all the Difference is, in the Price of Labour in *England*, and *India*; wherefore the whole Difference of the Price, betwixt both Manufactures, will be abated in Labour.

14. If more ſhould be abated, then the *Engliſh* Manufacture would be cheapeſt, and the *Indian* could not be ſold, conſequently would not be imported, contrary to the Fact, and alſo contrary to the Suppoſition. Therefore, if the Price of Labour only is abated, that of the Produce is not; on the contrary, it is very likely to be raiſed, by the Importation of *Indian* Manufactures. For as the Price of Labour †, will be thereby abated, the Demand of the Produce of the Eſtate will be increaſed, more will be invited, more will be enabled, to buy the ſame at higher Prices. Page 84.

15. More of our own People will be enabled to buy Wool, at two Shillings *per* Pound, with the Labour and Manufacture of the Price of ſix Shillings, than to buy ſo much Wool for one Shilling, if the Manufacture muſt be nine. Or if at home, Men might be compelled to buy at any Price; yet Foreigners are not ſubject to *Engliſh* Laws, they will rather buy our Wool, with the Price of Manufacture abated. The Abatement for the Price of Manufacture, will pay for the Carriage of our Wool manufactured, into diſtant Markets. So then, if the *Eaſt India* Trade ſhould *be ſuppoſed*

† The national Advantage expected from Labour, ſuppoſes Wages, and, in Conſequence thereof, a greater Conſumption of the Produce of the Kindgom, at a better Price. But we have been told [w], that the Price of *Indian* Labour, does not exceed one Penny a Day; and ſo far as the *Engliſh* Labour is reduced to that Standard, ſo far *Engliſh* Proviſions, and conſequently Rents, muſt fall in Proportion; and the leſs Probability there is of reducing *Engliſh*, to the Price of *Indian*, Proviſions, the greater Certainty there is, upon this Writer's own Principles, of his propoſed Reduction falling upon the Material, *Wool* in particular, as well as other *Engliſh* Produce. Thus at the ſame Time, that he contends, that neither the Land, nor Labour of *England*, are liable to be affected by *Indian* Manufactures, his own Conceſſions prove the contrary, in both Reſpects; and his Opinion, every Way, ſtands condemned by his own Arguments. [w] Ch. 68. §. 2–3.

ſhould reduce the Price of Labour and Manufacture, it muſt needs invite, and *enable* more People, to buy the Produce of the Eſtate.

16. Again, if almoſt every one in *England*, ſhall be able to buy the Gentleman's Wool, the Demand of it muſt be greater, conſequently the Price, than if Multitudes ſhall be diſabled; alſo, if People upon the Coaſts of foreign Countries, ſhall be invited, and enabled to buy the Wool, than if the ſame ſhall be reſtrained to only *Engliſh* Markets. Laſtly, if People at greater Diſtances from thoſe Coaſts, ſhall buy our Wool, than if only *Engliſh* Men, or the Coaſters of foreign Countries, ſhall be our Cuſtomers. So in all Caſes, the more ſhall be enabled to buy the Produce of the Eſtate, the Demand muſt be the greater, and ſo muſt the Price. Then the Importation of *Indian* Manufactures, abates the Price of Labour, invites, and enables ſo many the more, to buy the Produce of the Eſtate, increaſes the Demand, increaſes the Value of the Produce of the Eſtate *.

* This Affair of the *Eaſt India* Silks, *&c.* ſeems from this Time, to have been reſpited for a while, or rather diverted by another Object, which now begun to exerciſe the Thoughts of the Woolen Manufacturers of *England*; namely, the growing State of that Manufacture in *Ireland*, as we ſhall ſee immediately, in the next Volume.

And tho' neither the Arguments of this Writer, nor the
[x] Ch. 79. thoſe of Dr. *Davenant* [x] were ſufficient to uphold the Uſe of *Eaſt India* Manufactures, in *England*, for Continuance of Time; yet by raiſing a Miſt about the Subject, they were plainly inſtrumental in prolonging the ſame, for a few Years.
[y] Ch. 87. *P. S.* §. 14. *Note.* And that, to ſome particular Traders [y], was worth the paying a handſome Premium for, to ſuch mercenary Pens [z]. So that both the one, and the other, *viz.* thoſe that paid, and they that received the Money, finding ſufficiently their
[z] Ch. 87. §. 11. Account therein, for the preſent, they were none of them over and above ſolicitous for the future Credit of the Thing.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

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